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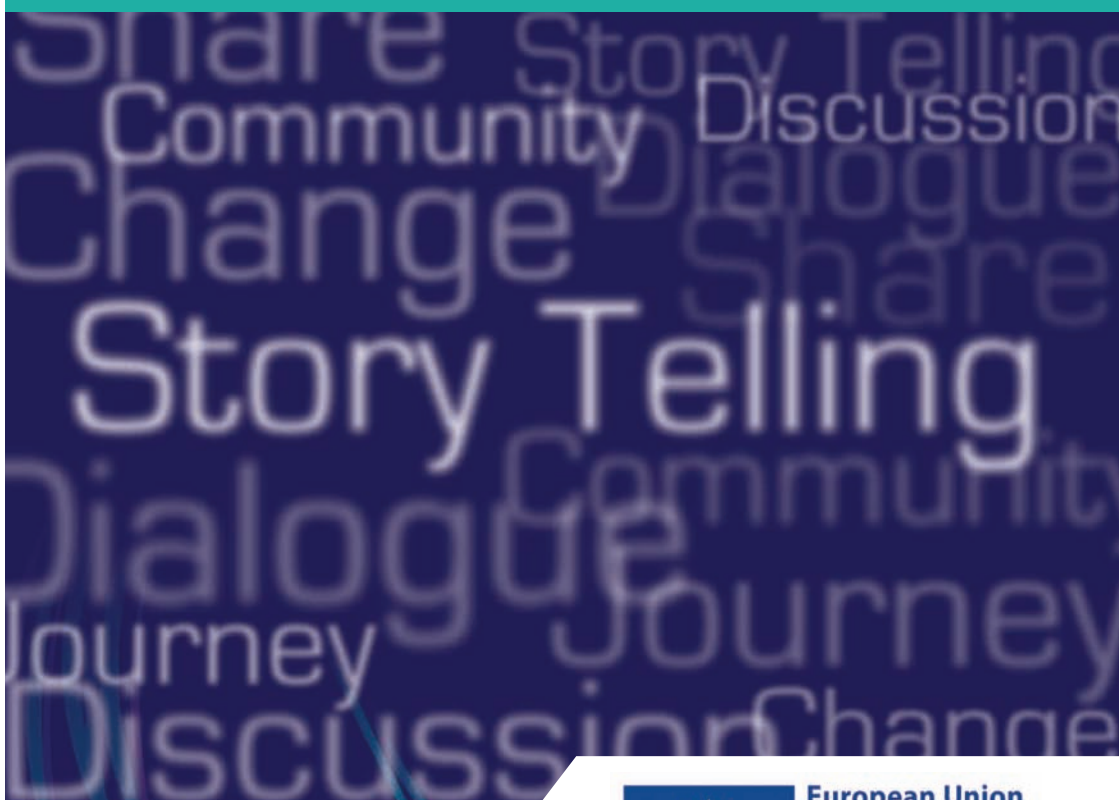
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irish peace centres

An Integrated Approach to Peace-Building



The Evaluation of Storytelling as a Peace-building Methodology



Experiential Learning Paper No. 5
January 2011

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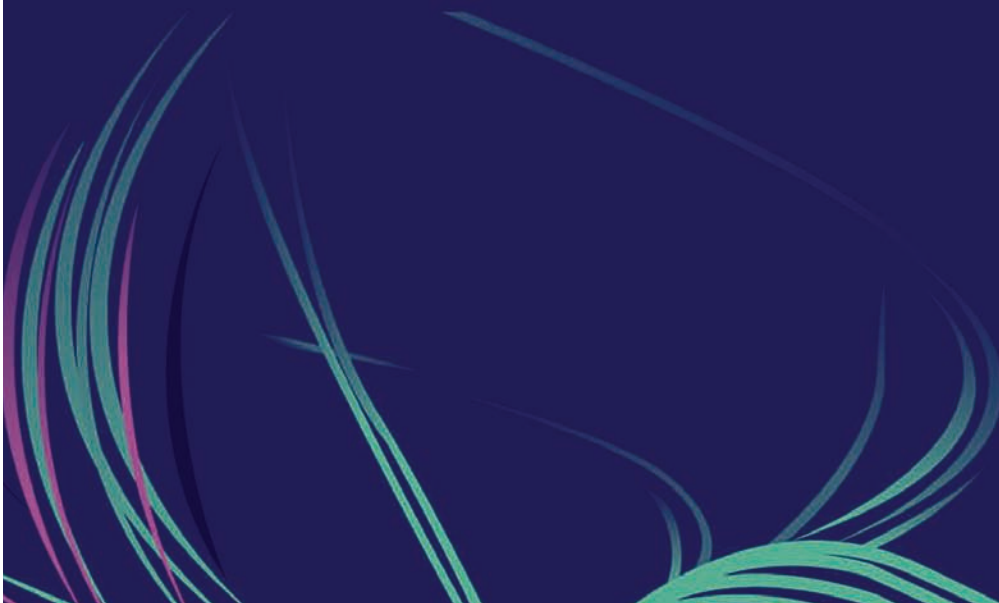


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Foreword

While this is the fifth in the Irish Peace Centres' series of experiential learning papers, it is also the first joint publication with INCORE. We are delighted with this collaboration between our two organisations building on long-standing relationships and common interest.

This paper is the record of an international workshop which was held in Derry in September 2010 on the evaluation of storytelling as a peace-building methodology. This was an important and timely initiative because currently there is no generally agreed method of evaluating storytelling despite the significant sums of money invested in it, not least by the EU PEACE Programmes. It was in fact PEACE III funding that enabled this examination of the issue to take place. This support allowed us to match international experts in evaluation with experts in storytelling in a residential setting over two days. This mix proved incredibly rich and produced this report, which we believe is a substantial contribution to the field. It is an example of the reflective practice which is at the heart of IPC's integrated approach to peace-building and INCORE's focus on linking research with peace-building practice. Built on this and other initiatives, one of IPC's specific aims is to create a series of papers that reflect the issues which are being dealt with by practitioners.

We want to thank all the staff of both organisations who worked tirelessly on this project from the initial ideas' stage through to this publication. We wish to extend a special word of thanks to the international speakers who travelled from afar and to the local practitioners, who combined to make this a watershed event. A final word of thanks to Eventful Consultancy who made it all happen.

Peter Sheridan OBE
Chair, Irish Peace Centres

Brandon Hamber
Director, INCORE

20th January 2011

Introduction

Welcome and Introductory Remarks: Paddy Logue (IPC)

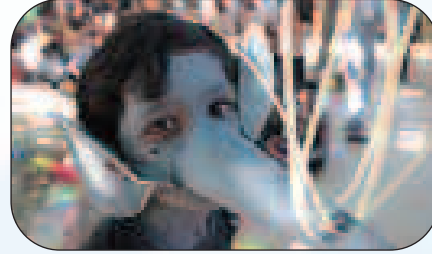
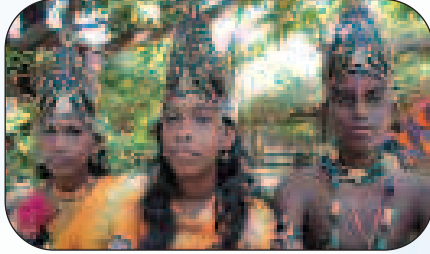
I want to extend a very warm welcome to all of you: you have been specially selected for your track record in storytelling, or in evaluation, or in both. A special word of welcome to the international experts who have come from afar: they are Judith Thompson, Katy Radford, Rick Davies, Paul Hogan, and Claudia Fontes.

It is a great pleasure for me as someone who comes from Derry/Londonderry to welcome you to this city. In recent months, three things have happened which have brought this town to a wider public. And all of them have a connection to storytelling. The first one was the Saville Report into the events of Bloody Sunday in 1972 which was one of the pivotal episodes in the history of the Northern Ireland conflict. The relief in the city was palpable after such a long campaign by the relatives of the dead and wounded finally ended in the closure and the celebration of the truth that the Saville Report brought. The story of the truth was told at last.

Secondly, Derry was named as the UK City of Culture for 2013. That is going to be a huge event here. And culture, as the anthropologist Clifford Geertz described it, is simply “the ensemble of stories we tell ourselves about ourselves”. The year 2013 promises to be a year of unprecedented (and unpredictable) storytelling.

The third important thing – which is about to happen - is this soon-to-be-famous workshop. We really do think that it has the potential to be groundbreaking. We have reviewed the literature and we cannot find a universally agreed methodology for evaluating storytelling as a peace-building tool. And, this despite the enormous levels of funding invested in it by development and conflict transformation agencies all over the world. The purpose of this two day international workshop is to explore together this anomaly and to see if we can make some progress on it.

It's important for me that you all understand that this is a joint initiative between INCORE, the International Conflict Research Institute at the University of Ulster in Magee College in Derry, and Irish Peace Centres a consortium of peace centres in Ireland comprising Corrymeela, Co-operation Ireland and Glencree peace projects. We have been joined in this partnership by the Derry-based Towards Understanding and Healing project. INCORE is represented by Dr. Kenneth Bush and Towards Understanding and Healing by Maureen Hetherington, both of whom will chair the various sessions of this workshop. We attach great importance on the added value of working in partnership as we believe that no one organisation has all the answers. Creative partnership is greater than the sum of its parts.



Every word in the plenary sessions will be recorded and transcribed later. The conversations of the four working groups will be recorded and transcribed by a team of very capable note-takers. The resulting transcriptions will be published in book form and launched at a seminar later in the year. The workshop facilitators are Gerard Deane, Owen Donnelly, Seamus Heaney and Susan McEwen. The note-takers are Stephanie Burns, Kenneth Houston, Padraig O'Tuama and Laura Stewart. I also want to name and thank the organising committee which met regularly during 2010 and planned in great detail the international workshop. They are: Laura Stewart, Maureen Hetherington, Paddy Logue, Kenneth Bush, Stephanie Burns, Owen Donnelly, Eamonn Baker, Susan McEwen, Danielle Bonner and Wilhelm Verwoerd.

My final task is to introduce Shaun Henry from the Special EU Programmes Body. If there is someone who knows what the Peace III programme is about, it is surely Shaun Henry. It's a pleasure to have him here.

Evaluation and Storytelling: Shaun Henry (SEUPB)

Thank you, Paddy. I speak here with the caveat that I am not an expert in peace-building, I am not an expert in evaluating, but what I can bring to the discussion is the view of the funder. We in the Special EU Programmes Body (SEUPB) are tasked with being the managing authority, which is EU-speak for being the authority that manages all aspects of the Peace III programme, and we also had a similar role in Peace II, and we also had a role in Peace I, somewhat lesser, as we were only formed towards the end of that programming period. So that is what I am bringing to the discussions this afternoon.

I appreciate that there are many in the audience here who are getting funding from the Peace Programme; others maybe have less knowledge or background of the programme. We have had a role in managing the peace programmes which started back in 1995 and runs up to 2013. I think that is an issue we should be thinking about, reflecting on, during the course of this afternoon's discussions: that we have now been at this business of post-conflict peace-building in Northern Ireland for fifteen

years or so, and the question is, how do our interventions change, or should they change, over time? And I think that is something I would like you to keep in the back of your minds as we make some other comments. The current peace programme runs from 2007 to 2013, to the value of €333 million, which I think you will agree is a significant level of investment, and is in addition to a level of investment which is in excess of a billion Euros that happened in the previous programming period. The objective of the peace programme, a very broadly framed objective, is to reinforce progress towards a peaceful and stable society and promote reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the six Border counties of Ireland. So the programme by its very nature is cross border, and all the funding for it is cross border.

That is a very brief overview of the programme, and the four main themes of the programme are: building positive relations at a local level; acknowledging and dealing with the past; creating shared public spaces; and building key institutional capacities.

We struggled during the second phase of the Peace Programme, Peace II, with actually trying to understand what we meant by the term reconciliation, and we had a lot of consultations, a lot of discussions, and we thought that the best definition of reconciliation that we could come up with was based on the Hamber and Kelly definition. We used that work and built in some changes. What we understand reconciliation to be consists of five main strands and we would argue that all five have to be addressed in order to bring about reconciliation. It is to do with bringing about a shared vision of an independent and fair society. It is to do with acknowledging and dealing with the past, bringing about substantial social-economic and political change, building positive relationships, and bringing about cultural and attitudinal change. We have tried to make a fairly direct link where it was appropriate between our funding streams and types of outputs that we would like to see, which hopefully will make a contribution to that wider definition of reconciliation. And thus we are investing very heavily in building positive relationships on a local level. Much of that work is happening through local authorities North and South, as we think it is incredibly important to get local councils to buy into that approach, and we are working a lot with NGOs who are working on a regional basis to implement regional projects that make a contribution towards building positive relationships. There are quite a lot of storytelling type initiatives being funded under that strand.

The other strand in which there is a lot of storytelling present in is 'acknowledging and dealing with the past'. This addresses issues around victims, both in Northern Ireland and the Border region, as well as the wider issue of acknowledging and dealing with the past within the public memory and plotting a way forward. There are quite a lot of storytelling initiatives funded under that strand of the programme. The two other strands are 'creating shared public spaces' which has probably less impact

on storytelling, and 'building key institutional capacities' which is building institutional capacities both within the public and civic sector generally to make sure that our peace-building efforts are sustainable in the longer term.

That is a very brief view of the programme and what I want to share with you is some reflections on storytelling from my point of view, and from the programme's point of view. A lot of reflections I am now going to share with you are personal reflections. They are informed by my own personal experience, my own family experience, and have also been informed by my work experience, in the types of people and groups that I meet. We become very conscious, when we are sitting in the management authority trying to manage this programme, that very often it is not the cream that rises to the top: it is the problems that rise to the top, and at times I feel that the only thing I do Monday to Friday is deal with problems, and perhaps that gives me a rather distorted view of some of the things that are happening within the programme. I begin with this 'caveat' so that my comments may come across as challenging, rather than negative.

To turn to the purpose of storytelling: why do it? There seem to be many motives for getting involved. Sometimes people get involved because they are seeking justice. They want to keep memory alive in order that it makes a contribution towards some type of movement towards justice. Also: therapy. I understand that is not the focus of yourselves this afternoon but undoubtedly lots of storytelling can happen in an environment which helps people to heal. Thirdly, acknowledgement. Our experience is that lots of people are involved in this type of storytelling where they are trying to put on the public record an acknowledgement of what happened in the past. They feel that their version of history and events is not getting the public attention that they deserve, and they want acknowledgement for their version of history.



There may be other motives from your work of why people do it. One of the key issues that I see is: does storytelling challenge, or does it reinforce? Does storytelling challenge your view of history and events, or does it reinforce these views? In particular, storytelling which goes through a semi-formalised process of DVD recording, archiving, etc, makes that view a legitimate view of history, at least in the mind of the person telling the story. Does that reinforce their view of history rather than challenge their view of history? It is something we have to be very sensitive to. We are fifteen years after the first ceasefire, and we have to ask: are we moving forward? Do initiatives reinforce views of the past, or do they challenge people to build a different type of future? Is storytelling an active part of the healing process (and I don't mean healing in a medical sense of mental illness, but in a wider societal sense)? Does storytelling make a contribution towards healing of wounds in society, or does it reopen trauma within society? Does it reopen events long forgotten about in the wider public realm, and is it useful to reopen them? I think we have to be very careful that we make sufficient trauma counselling and therapies available to people who are engaging in storytelling, because at a personal level it can actually reengage with trauma again; it is not something to be engaged with lightly, and I am sure that you as practitioners do not engage with storytelling lightly.

When we talk about storytelling, very often when we look at projects the focus is very strongly on the telling of, not on the listening to, the story - maybe we should be talking about storylistening. Who is listening to these stories? What purpose does that listening serve? We would also have experience of some projects that are perhaps less open to listening to other people's experiences, and that comes back to the issue about it being challenging or reinforcing. *Does storytelling help society stay in the past, or does it help us to move forward? You may say that an essential part of moving forward is to understand the past. I think it's debatable.* There is a danger that we could become involved in an intergenerational transfer of all our hang-ups about The Troubles to a younger generation, who are, in fact, much more open-minded to things. I am not saying that that is universally the case, but I think it is something we have to be very careful about. We need to ensure that somehow our storytelling, and our remembrance of the past, are firmly embedded in a notion of moving forward.

So what does the Peace III programme say about acknowledging and dealing with the past? It doesn't deal solely with storytelling; it is much wider based than that. There are other ways of acknowledging and dealing with the past. The Programme encourages individuals and institutions to acknowledge their role in the conflict. I think this is important. There is a need to acknowledge your role, not only as a passive bystander to whom the conflict happened; but your role, or your contribution, as an individual or as a member, of a wider group, which either directly supported conflict or sustaining an environment that allowed that conflict to happen and continue. We are saying that you should accept and learn in a constructive way. It should provide an opportunity for exchanging views of history, culture and identity; it is all to do with

exchange, and exchanging views with people who maybe have different views of history, culture and identity and increasing the awareness of different roles and experiences of the conflict. I think some of our projects are much more successful than others in achieving those types of impacts.

To say a little bit about evaluation: how do we evaluate the peace programme? In short: with great difficulty. It is an incredibly difficult programme to evaluate and we have brought in some expert independent guidance in the form of Ken Bush and others to help guide us at critical stages. We have our standard output results and impacts and key indicators, but our experience in the past with previous peace programmes is that those indicators don't really capture the essence of what we are trying to do. Thus we have adopted what we call an Aid For Peace approach. It involves encouraging the recipients of grant aid to do a peace-building needs analysis, seeing what needs to be done in order to achieve peace-building outcomes, and looking at the appropriateness and the relevance of the particular intervention that is being funded, and how closely it addresses the actual peace-building needs that have been identified. It also involves looking at the risks involved that may impact on the project from a peace-building point of view, and then trying to identify the very specific peace and conflict impacts that your project should have. This is a fairly simple and logical approach, but it is an approach that I think was perhaps missing in previous peace programmes where we did not have this dialogue with projects.

To us, the dialogue in going through these four steps is as important as any particular indicators that come out of it; it is a dialogue of getting projects to focus on what the peace-building needs are, and what type and how relevant is your intervention and what impacts do you think you should actually achieve from the investment of public monies. Most of the projects have only gone through the first three stages: they have identified what impacts they think they should have, but most projects are at too early a stage to say whether or not they have achieved impact. Some of the indicators that are coming forward out of the Aid For Peace approach are to do with increased awareness, increased understanding, and attitudinal change. The way we try to measure some of these indicators are things like structured interviews, focus groups, customer feedback or questionnaires. It is a very difficult area to measure. We are investing a very large amount of public money in acknowledging and dealing with the past of which storytelling is an important subset, and we are very aware that particularly within the current public expenditure environment more and more questions will be asked of us to say what impacts the public investment is having in terms of peace building and reconciliation. With our Aid For Peace approach we are taking some tentative steps to try to answer that question but we are hoping that the initiative that the Irish Peace Centres is taking over the next couple of days will add a lot to our understanding of how we can effectively evaluate storytelling.

Background to the Workshop: Kenneth Bush (INCORE)

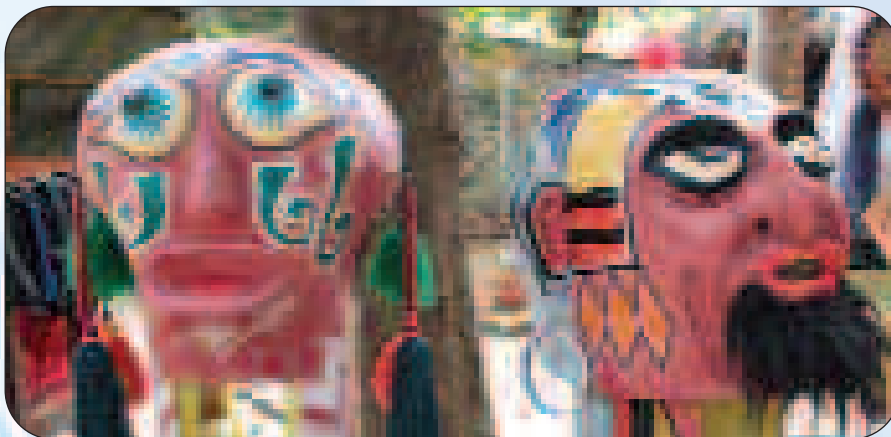
Over the next few minutes I am going to talk about the origin and structure of this workshop, but before I do that I would just like to endorse the assessment that Shaun has made concerning the great possibilities and the dangers of storytelling; that is what has driven us to be here today. We all come to this workshop with the anecdotes and the stories about the very positive and the very negative impacts that various forms of storytelling have had. I suspect that when each of us accepted the invitation to invest two-and-a-half precious work days in this workshop, we were recognizing the need to systematically engage with these stories about stories. Interestingly, though perhaps not intuitively, when Paddy Logue and I were trying to make sense of the positive and negative impacts of stories and storytelling projects in conflict contexts, we decided that the approaches and tools of project evaluation might be a useful starting point.

And so one of the implications I think we should draw from Shaun's preliminary remarks is that if we are to understand how these storytelling projects work - and how projects that use storytelling approaches work - then we need to have some kind of systematic means of assessing them. Yet, when we search the standard toolkit of project and programme evaluators we don't find many ready-to-use tools for making sense of the various impacts of storytelling initiatives – let alone those storytelling initiatives which seek to make a positive contribution to peace and reconciliation. We found that there were some approaches that were helpful, but there was nothing that was exactly right for what we were trying to do. At this point, I would like to acknowledge and thank both Rick Davies and Claudia Fontes for coming to this workshop. Rick is the originator of the Most Significant Change evaluation methodology, and Claudia has applied the approach very effectively in the field of arts projects. I am excited to learn more from them about this novel and important evaluation technique for our interest in storytelling.

What do we want out of this workshop? Essentially, three things First: we want to define the space between storytelling and evaluation. This is an area that has not been adequately explored. This is a mapping process which begins when you bring people who have a background, skills and expertise in evaluation with those who are working in the areas of storytelling. Second, we would like to begin to develop common understandings about what the major issues, themes and challenges are, as well as what the successes have been; to learn from our successes so that we know better what to do, what to continue doing, and what not to do. Finally, we want to move towards the development of more systematic tools for actually evaluating and assessing the storytelling initiatives.

We thought that it would be quite interesting and productive to bring together individuals who have experience in using storytelling in different contexts: in international contexts, in a Northern Ireland context, in a Republic of Ireland context, and put them together with evaluators. Generally speaking, I speak as an evaluator. And I must say that evaluators tend to be quite technical and dry, so it was quite difficult initially to find someone who understood evaluation, yet had the sensitivities towards storytelling. But as we searched, we actually came up with some absolutely exceptional anomalies: evaluators that have a great sensitivity towards storytelling, either using it as a form of evaluation, or evaluating arts-based, or storytelling-based, projects.

The format of this workshop was developed in an effort to get the most out of the resources we have brought together. After a brief 10-15 minute presentation by the practitioner on their work, we will invite an evaluator up here to the podium, whose task will be to open up the space for what we call evaluative discussions. The evaluator essentially performs the role of an interviewer. If it works, these conversations will explore a broad range of questions - how you know whether you are doing what you think you are doing? Why are you doing it that way? What impacts are you having? In conceptualizing this workshop, we drafted a long list of questions that we wanted to try to begin exploring collectively in this workshop, both through these evaluative discussions and in our working groups. In an effort to ensure that there is sufficient time to launch into substantive working group discussions, we are going to try to ensure that there is an hour and a half, to two hours, for this purpose.



Presentations, Interviews & Discussions

Session 1: Judith Thompson and Katy Radford

Kenneth Bush: In the first session we are going to have Judith Thompson, who is a research associate at the Karuna Centre for Peace-building. Judith is going to be paired up with Dr Katy Radford, who comes from the Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work from Queens University.

Judith Thompson: I am going to share with you a little bit about the various contexts within which I've used storytelling. Once upon a time I started doing storytelling works (this was in the mid 80s) which really defined the rest of the works I've been doing ever since. I am going to share with you four different settings and contexts.

The first example is a programme that I started called Children of War. The context was bringing together young people from dozens of war situations. These were high school- aged youth, and represented post-conflict areas, hot conflict areas, and some historic centres of oppression, for example, Haiti and the Philippines where people had been living in repression for quite a number of generations. Within this larger global group were young people from opposing groups, Northern Ireland included, Israel-Palestine, and from my own country we had numbers of young people from gang situations, inner city refugees, and immigrant situations where there was a great deal of on-the-ground violence going on. These participants were initially selected by partner agencies. We worked with the South African Council of Churches for 10 years, the Middle East Council of Churches, development agencies in the Philippines, and others. Since we've worked with 14 different countries and another eight or 10 settings of refugee communities, there were that many partner agencies that we worked with. Most of these involved young people who came to us because they were already engaged in leadership activities. The first goal of this work was youth leadership development including the fostering and strengthening of partnerships between youth from opposing groups. It is important to note that these youths got involved because they felt that this was the kind of work they wanted to be doing. In this sense they were self-selected. The second goal of this work was peace education and advocacy in an effort to engage and empower young people to get involved in peace organisations and peace issues within the United States.

We used a two-stage method in this work. We brought together young people from 22 different countries who were all leaders in their own right. We convened a retreat setting for four or five days together with them to share stories with each other: this was a very story-based process in the initial stages of it. When I say story, I want to share one aspect of the methodology, which is that we had a young person who



helped to found this organisation: a survivor of the Cambodian genocide, some of you know him; his name is Arn Chorn-Pond. He had been for many years already sharing his story in small groups of people and publically in a wider sense, and had come to the conclusion himself that sharing his story was vital to his own growth. This falls more within a therapeutic framework than a reconciliation framework. But he felt that getting young people together who were engaged in wanting to be peacebuilders at a young age and telling their stories to each other was going to be an important developmental process for them. I felt the same way; I had been working with the Cambodian community for many years prior to that.

So, we brought together young people to tell their stories. They told them in a number of different contexts. Small support groups with seven or eight young people that were multinational - you might have an Israeli and a Palestinian, a Nicaraguan, a South African, someone from the United States inner city community, Cambodian, etc. Everybody sat in the circle. We always had opposing groups within the same circle, so if you had a Protestant and a Catholic from Northern Ireland they would be in each group: likewise with Israelis and Palestinians.

The other methodology we used was sharing information about wounding and healing. We talked about it. We developed theory. We shared what our understanding was based on what we had been seeing about the value of people listening deeply to each other's stories and telling stories to each other. They were receiving this information, thinking about it, discussing it, and then going into groups and this happened in a number of different ways, both in small groups and with a large group and sharing their stories based on the question of what it has been like for you. These young people they had never shared their story with anybody before. And you know that when you grow up in an area with conflict, no-one is asking you to tell your story. Most of the time no-one has free attention. If you are in Lebanon during the civil war, if you are in Gaza, people aren't sitting you down and asking 'please tell me your story.'

What were the indicators of success? On the local level there were long-lasting youth coalitions formed which bridged deep divisions in the community between gangs, between racial and cultural and class backgrounds and groups. There were 42 new youth peace and justice organisations started because of it, and six local chapters that went on for ten years. In all of those organisations they incorporated storytelling so that they would get together as young people from diverse backgrounds, class backgrounds, suburban youth, inner city youth, gang youth, and they used storytelling as an ongoing methodology within their group. Then they choose various kinds of issues that they want to get involved in to support causes of various kinds. It won six awards; a documentary on public television; a national curriculum was developed; and three people did doctoral research that was at least partially focused on this work.

Storytelling was crucial to the success of this project. I would say there were a couple of other things too which are important to note but maybe more difficult for an evaluator to talk about. We accompanied what we did with what I would call an appreciative tone of human nature, meaning 'awful things happen, people get hurt: how can they heal?' That is the subtext, I think, of reconciliation work: helping to rehumanise the 'other.' It was a fairly stated thing that within every single person is a story and a real flesh-and-blood human being, and, if you listen to their story, you will find something of your own in that. I think saying it, putting it out as information, being optimistic, having a tone about it, is an invitation to people to begin to look in a different direction: to see where they can find beauty in otherness. So being helped by respectful listening contradicts the sense of isolation and despair; bearing witness to others and doing the same allows us to understand that we have all suffered and can relate to each other's humanity.



We repeatedly witnessed victim narratives transformed into empowered narratives. Young people particularly noted in their public talks, particularly when they met with local US youths, the value of support in something like this. By sharing and listening to each other we found the strength and courage to overcome. By the time they left their retreat setting they were essentially coaching other young people; they were going out and saying, I am a Palestinian, he's an Israeli, and we came in with an opposing sense of each other. But what we have come to recognise is that through support, they feel more empowered, because when you offer your listening to someone you get a sense also of your own capability; of holding a story, of being of service to others. They found that to be true and they were role models of courage. The concept of support was as important as the concept of story, which has to do something with who's listening: stories are not just about talking, stories are about listening, and if you are not doing the deep listening then you are not doing effective storytelling.

I think another reason why this was successful, frankly, was young people. Young people tend towards establishing a group culture fairly quickly, so common music, common clothes, the various things that divided them, according to their own personal hurts from sectarian violence or genocide or repression were overcome by the sense also of being in a group of other young people who share certain things that are universal to young people. I do think there is something about working with young people in particular that is effective in terms of storytelling.

My second example is Cambodia. The youth model described above was invited into Cambodia. This was now in the mid 90s. My friend Arn Chorn-Pond went back to Cambodia and he has successfully started up three or four NGOs. He has wanted to employ storytelling as a way to do leadership training and leadership development for staff, and invited me to come over and help him with it. The goal was to train the staff of an organisation called Cambodian Volunteers for community development and to train them in the theory and practice of storytelling and support groups as a way to enhance their own healing and leaderships and help their constituency. There was and is a reconciliation context within Cambodia at that particular time. It would probably be true to say the real issues there were complete mistrust. Who was the victim: who was the perpetrator? Who polluted the Khmer Rouge: who didn't? Therefore there was a complete breakdown of trusting anybody. It was 15 years since the genocide, and still a completely corrupt, conflict-ridden society; violent, repressed, and people not able to really work together co-operatively because they didn't trust one another and they weren't talking to each other. Everything was a facade of okay-ness but underneath was deep distrust.

We selected people from the staff and did several days of orientation, mostly delivering information and talking about trauma, healing, conflict, and the creation of 'otherness': who you trust and who you don't trust, and why. Then we had day-long retreats at a monastery out in the countryside where it was beautiful.

We did this several times. It was very deep work in terms of people actually starting to talk about what had happened to them in the genocide –for the first time. Not in an accusatory way, but in a way to say, I can now become vulnerable enough to share what the pain and suffering was really like for me.

Here's where it didn't work: At one point there were a number of people from the staff who got on the bus to come with us who were not on the orientation. They hadn't received the information; they didn't know what we were doing. They showed up and we were doing a storytelling circle; they interrupted it and got very upset, and basically said 'We don't do that here. We don't talk about it. It's never to be talked about'. When that happened, the tone, which had been a tone of safety, openness and people sharing and formation of deep bonds completely shut down. Basically the

cultural fear came in and said that we are not allowed to do this; this is not the right thing to do. That happened to be a day when there were other people with us who had been working with me over the years; one who was a Jewish American whose story is about the Holocaust and another was Yolanda King, Martin Luther King's daughter. What we did was sit down and say okay, let's catch up on why we are telling stories. Larry Sacra and Yolanda King said 'we'd like to tell you our stories.' So they shared their stories with the group which began to put everybody at ease again, and those who'd come in and been frightened then integrated into this group, and things went on. We took the spotlight off them; off their culture, off their experience, and put it on ourselves and said 'we are going to model this; we are going to talk about sharing a story.' Other reasons why it was successful was the role model of one leader, Arn. I think in a culture like Cambodia where it is not traditional to tell a story, the door was open because it was one of their own, who'd been doing this for so long, who modelled it and through their respect for him and their love of him they came into it quite willingly. Other things like space away from the city, being protected in a sheltered monastery outdoors in the garden, were all important for creating a sense of safety. I stayed for a month there, the work continued to go on, and as far as I know, there was no evaluation. But from the reporting I've heard it was a very successful in terms of building trust and co-operative teams among the staff of these NGOs.

In the third example I was brought in as a consultant on a second generation context, of children of the Holocaust and children of the third Reich; and in some cases, first generation Holocaust survivors and former Nazis. This is an organisation called One by One; it was a spin-off of work begun by Dan Bar-On. This is a group which he started in Germany and was carried on by people from the group. The goal is to heal Holocaust wounds on both sides and pass the lessons on to the next generation.

Methodology: three or four-day workshops with trained facilitators from within the membership, and occasional topical conferences open to the wider public that they do bi-yearly; an active speakers' bureau where people from the group go out to high schools, both in the United States and in Germany to talk about the consequences of violence; and the use of the arts and performance. A number of people with this organisation are themselves either fine artists or performing artists and they used art quite effectively. One example was a German descendant of a Holocaust survivor who would paint half a canvas and her German counterpart would paint the other half of the canvas, they would have a whole picture that would tell their story of their relationship with each other.

It was highly successful in forming relationships between members of these two different groups. Most of these people would say that it was life changing in terms of their movement through guilt, shame, fear, and pain. I was particularly close to several pairs of them. They said, in talking about their work, that there was no other that would have been able to release them.

We use the expression 'the antidote is in the poison' – you need a little of it. You really needed to have that person because even as much as they represented the polarity of absolute fear, guilt and shame, there was a certain intimacy in that coupling. There is a certain intimacy with your enemy. Only that person was actually able to release them, to live a life that was much more liberated than the lives they'd lived before, and that was reconciliation.

They had issues and challenges too: founder's syndrome, leadership issues, and I think one of the things that is good to examine in this is what does happen when survivors or leaders in these kind of organisations find it works well. I do think –in the case of One by One –there is some unhealed stuff still going on with some of the founders and leaders which has been reflected in negative patterns within the organisation and has held the organisation back. I gave them that feedback.

Time was one of the reasons for effectiveness. Time goes on. Things are a little different in the second generation. They are still powerful, but you are not up against that raw, hot conflict. You've had assistance from time. They also had very good facilitation; they had self-selection; these are people who really wanted to do this work, you had people in the room who really wanted to do it. It makes a huge difference.

The fourth and final context was called the Mutual Acknowledgement Project. It was funded by the Norwegian government and ran from 2008 to 2009 before we ran out of funds. Mental health workers from Israel-Palestine together with some internationalists were invited to be a part of an International Witness Group, an international team of third parties. It is a current, intractable, very hot conflict with huge power asymmetry. It was seen as a pilot project, a learning lab. I was asked to be the designer of this project, and I was asked to be a facilitator. The goals were to explore steps towards mutual acknowledgement: acknowledging the pain and suffering of the other and one's responsibility for it. So not only am I going to acknowledge the fact of your pain and suffering but I am going to share how I recognise my role in your pain and suffering.

We avoided calling it a reconciliation project for probably obvious reasons - no time for reconciliation because there hasn't been a resolution there. However, we certainly all understood that acknowledgement is an important pre-requisite for reconciliation so I think everybody entered into it with that awareness.

Methodology: storytelling was just a small piece of the work of this group. We worked in a large group, perhaps 25 people, equally Palestinian and Israeli, mental health workers, some of them psychoanalysts, some of them psychologists, some of them counsellors and some of them social workers, uni-national groups that met, and small mixed groups. The groups that met focused on certain tasks: generally, questions focused on aspects of history, identity, power, obstacles, and what is needed. We did use storytelling on a couple of occasions, and structured rituals to create a group space. What this means is: we're going to open our workshop now, it's going to be one for the next four days, and we are going to open with a ritual. Please be prepared, come with something that symbolises something you cherish deeply. Everybody brought something. It was a highly effective means to start to get people to talk deeply about their lives, but which was offered in a way that you might say was positive. It wasn't always; sometimes it was 'I'm bringing this relic of my grandmother who died'. But those objects would be placed in the centre of the room and became our created group space; that was our mutual story, our shared story, of who we were as a group. That was a very effective opening to create a sense of bonding with the 'other' in a structured, safe way. There was no cross talk; it was done in a ceremonial way. We had some large group sessions devoted to sharing stories specifically related to historical events like 'tell us your story about 1948'; there was spontaneous storytelling, so people would just begin to open up and tell part of their story. Maureen Hetherington and Seamus Farrell offered a bead workshop, which basically is a tool of putting together a necklace with these various beads, each of which tells a different part of your story.

There were further issues within the storytelling: issues related to the fact of ongoing conflict; issues of justice not resolved; there were ill defined goals related to acknowledgment; what we mean by acknowledgment, according to who, what are we acknowledging, and a clashing between individual and collective identities, for example, I asked you that as an individual, but you are responding to me as a collective; and issues of when we did actually have a structured storytelling session, it wasn't done in the right timing and it wasn't organic to what was happening at that moment. I'm going to wrap it up now. Thank you.

Evaluative Interview 1: Judith Thompson and Katy Radford

Katy Radford: Malachi O'Doherty, who is a journalist over here, talks about how people can get very interested and enthused by the narrative, the big stories; and I am wondering, when you talked a lot about young men that you are working with, you talked a lot about the cultural context, and I'd like you to talk a little bit about how participants could really have the voices of those who were disempowered in different ways; where were the women, what happens in terms of those who maybe choose that silence and don't want to have it teased out of them; what happens

particularly in the Children of War; and then perhaps we can go on to think about some of the other projects.

Judith Thompson: I guess part of the guidelines that always get set up is a tremendous respect for wherever the person is at. So if someone does not want to share a story, absolute permission is given for them not to tell a story, but just to be a listener, to bear witness to others telling stories. It is so crucial that people feel everything about the way that they are showing up is respected. Otherwise they are not going to be really safe enough to share whatever it is they might want to share. There was never a sense of needing to share. I will be honest enough to tell you when that didn't work. It was in the Acknowledgment project where some of us were very aware that there was an important person in our group who had an important story to tell. And actually I think we leaned on him a little bit to tell that story. He did, and it was not a good situation. He was one of the staff with us.

Katy Radford: You talked a little bit about self-selection for people - how also did you try and encourage those who perhaps had softer voices or silenced voices to become engaged in any of the processes?

Judith Thompson: If you are speaking about the young people in particular, one thing to know is that they met in support groups every day and this was a month long leadership programme.

Katy Radford: For what age group?

Judith Thompson: Fourteen to 19 year olds. There wasn't anybody who never shared; basically there was enough space and enough time for people to begin to feel comfortable. Some of these issues were openly discussed, about who has power. So when I talked about sharing information, it wasn't just sharing information with them about the value of storytelling; it was sharing information about power, about who's silenced and who isn't silenced, so there was some sort of analysis that was going on at the same time, and gender analysis was a piece of that.

Katy Radford: Were they self-selected or could anybody join the programme that you were running?

Judith Thompson: With the Children of War programme, the young people who came as part of the leadership team were chosen by the youth leadership organisations that we worked with internationally. And later, after we'd been running for about five years, the alumni of the programme, meaning the youth themselves, chose.



Katy Radford: How do we identify the fact that that some stories have the power to attract the big narrative, the TV story, and some other gentle, quiet ones don't? How can we be mindful of that in the process?

Judith Thompson: The important thing would be to get everything in context, to understand that while in the public eye, in the eye of the media, there may be certain voices that are going to be heard more for various different reasons. But I would ask the question, in the broader context of an unfolding programme that has many parts to it: are those gentle quiet voices feeling empowered? I would say humbly yes to that in Children of War, and I felt very good about that. There were definitely some charismatic people who could carry an audience but what was important to those leaving was moving from victim to visionary. I don't remember anybody who came in the room and didn't leave very different in terms of their sense of who they were, the importance of their voice, their confidence in sharing their voice, their sense of being capable within themselves to do, so there was a certain kind of energy that really came with the process of sharing stories. It would be a really applicable question in terms of the use of stories as public education. If the use of stories is public education, testimony, etc, and it's only the same voice over and over again, then it would be very interesting to reflect and say let's get some other stories.

Katy Radford: That takes me off slightly tangentially, because I am interested to follow that up with you about do we record these things, and do we record them, because storytelling or story creation is an organic process. How then do we measure that and how do we evaluate that, do we do that through an organic process in itself? I think you talked about quite short periods of working with young people in all the projects; they were maybe two, three days. Is there something there about how the impact of that organic change goes on over a number of months?

Judith Thompson: I think there is something there to look at; I don't really have the answer. Mind you, Children of War was a month-long programme. They came and stayed for a month, so that was really a long time.

Katy Radford: Very intense.

Judith Thompson: Very intense, and sharing stories every day, doing support work every day, learning more and more experientially, integrating cognitive and affective: it was a very deeply affective programme, it was a great deal of emotional work that was done.

Katy Radford: And how did it change, from the first time you ran it to the end of the time you ran it? What did you learn in that process, given that there was no formal evaluation?

Judith Thompson: Well, for one of our goals, which was working with local young people to bridge differences, one of the things that we did differently was we would take one of our leadership teams and instead of staying two or three days in the city, we stayed a week in the city and had a conference in it. So we went much more deeply, locally. We have six national chapters: Boston, New York, Chicago, St Louis, San Francisco, L.A, and that was partly a product of staying somewhere for a longer length of time.

Katy Radford: If you were to have a formal evaluation process what would you be looking for now in terms of how you would look at the organic growth of those young people? What would you want in there now?

Judith Thompson: I guess I would see it divided into a number of different things. I would want to begin to understand certain attitudinal changes, and again because we had these two spheres, one was the development of a leadership group, another was the development of local work. I think in the leadership group, particularly when it came to the question that I was really asked to focus on which was interpersonal reconciliation, I think there's a lot more work that I would do now, that we didn't do then, partly just because of the nature of the way that we were set up, that would really track over time - were the quality of those relationships being sustained? How are they being sustained? And logistically speaking, what were people's support networks that they were returning to? Were they going to give them that support that they needed to continue to do that work?

Katy Radford: I am interested because you have again brought up that process of partnership working. One of the things you mentioned in the beginning was how important it was to bring these groups together. But thinking about it in terms of evaluation, did those different partners have different objectives, different aims? One of the things that Shaun mentioned earlier on was the different ways of storytelling: the therapeutic end, the reinforcing or the challenging of the past; did those come out of the particular partners that you had, were they competing aims and objectives? And is that a challenge for any evaluation process?

Judith Thompson: In terms of the partner groups we work in?

Katy Radford: Yes.

Judith Thompson: I don't believe so, partly because we did a lot of outreach to find the groups that we were on some level matching up with what it was we were doing, meaning, our intention, is /was, the development of leadership. For example, in working with the Namibian Council of Churches and the South African church youth division we made our mission very clear as to what we're doing and what we felt we had to offer, and they basically said, or didn't, 'we think you are a resource for the kind of work we want to do'. I think of them because that was probably the closest partnership we had over ten years, we worked very closely with them, we had probably a hundred young people from South Africa, youths and children and they all found it very supportive of their aims. I think probably once again where things were more difficult was when we didn't have partner organisations that were as firm institutionally. A couple of times we had more grass roots organisers, people who had a lot of vision and were great but didn't have the ongoing infrastructure mission programmatic resource to exploit the opportunity that we were offering in not only supporting the young people's growth, but giving them certain tools and skills that they brought back.

Israel-Palestine, they did get together. They continued to do support groups together; South Africa, a lot of work happened. I actually understand that there was something that happened in Northern Ireland, it was a long time ago and I have to try and trace back the people we worked with at that time. But I think it's a crucial point that this is a particular type of programme that really relied on good partners.

Katy Radford: What I'd really like to end on asking is the process of storytelling; we've touched on the fact that it may not be the narrative or the forensic, what about the rhetorical in there, and what about the collective process; is that an important thing to evaluate in what you have achieved and in other processes?

Judith Thompson: And by rhetorical and collective in evaluation you mean...exactly?

Katy Radford: In terms of whether or not you're getting a collective narrative or a process of evaluating that. Or is it really just somebody's rhetoric which is then told 'okay, that's embedded in the process, it's been delivered therefore it is justified'?

Judith Thompson: In the last work of Mutual Acknowledgment, definitely there was a lot of collective rhetoric, you know – I am telling the story of the collective, I am not telling you my personal story. There was a lot of confusion that ensued with regard to people trying to be in dialogue with each other and one person speaking as an

individual but the collective responding. In Children of War there were certainly young people who came in with a collective narrative of South African. What was fascinating about their self-reporting on it was that they're saying 'we came in feeling that we represent our people, our cause, and to teach people about apartheid, and of course all those things were true. And they did, but we learned the value of really speaking our personal story. Not only from the point of view of self-understanding, but in terms of sharing with other people. And using our stories as a way to educate others about what the realities of apartheid - I can only do that if I share it as a personal story. So they moved from starting with a collective story to sharing personal stories. I think both are important: it's not that one is more important than the other. I think sharing the personal story in terms of its therapeutic value once again is important.

I had a little pre-conversation with Kenneth via email about the relationship between the therapeutic aspect of storytelling and reconciliation work and I had emailed him saying 'why aren't we talking about therapeutic value?' He emailed back and said 'we know that is very important but we are actually looking at peace-building'. But I want to just make a case and say that I think the link between those things must be seen for what they are. The therapeutic value of good storytelling, in a safe place, where people feel liberated by telling their story, not re-traumatised - how does that happen? Also, their readiness to sit with the 'other' and their openness to the other - you cannot decouple those things. I think they're crucial. If you don't think storytelling is therapeutic at all, or if it's not being used therapeutically, if it is being used to reinforce the old position, to tell the collective story to open up old wounds, then it's not a great tool for reconciliation. But if you see the therapeutic value and you understand how to structure the safe space, the context, the good facilitation, and staff, the positive tone, it's good. But if you have people who are introducing storytelling who don't believe in it, or who think it's a tool only to get at the 'truth' then you will run into problems. But if you are actually inviting people into an opportunity to actually be seen and see and experience their own humanity and see the humanity of the 'other', my experience is that in the right context, people are really dying to do that. There are more people than we think who really would like to have some kind of humanised relationship with the other and I think that that's the value of storytelling.

Feedback after Discussion 1

Group 1: We attempted to do something that Jean Paul Lederach does. We tried to condense the conversation into a three-line haiku - five syllables, seven syllables, five syllables. This is what we came up with:

layered stories hold
risk and counter-empathy
elusive changes hide.

We started off talking about the multi-layered complexity of stories, and their different meanings for different people. We discussed the elements of stories and how they may pose risks, while creating opportunities for encounter, empathy and understanding. And, lastly, we discussed the fact that there are indicators of success, but they are often elusive and difficult to explain.

Group 2: Three short points. The range of practice, in terms of what's out there, in storytelling needs to be scoped out. *There needs to be some sort of a scoping exercise of the types of storytelling, their purposes and practices, the contexts within which they are used, their target audiences, the type of people who get involved and so on.* Second, there needs to be more safe space to explore best practice – a process from which practitioners can actually learn from successes and failures. Lastly, there is also a lot of international best practice out there and we would like to see the evaluation process looking at what's happening internationally as well.

Group 3: One of the first points discussed in the group was that, as practitioners, there is sometimes a fear of evaluation. Consequently, people often work to avoid evaluation, or to control evaluators in terms of what message they bring back, for example, by presenting only positive stories. However, in order to lift average quality practice to levels of excellent practice, we need to learn from failures and problems as well. If these are not examined, then our ability to learn and improve practice is hindered. The group also noted the challenge of language -- of finding a way to bring that story to the funder. The question that arose in the discussion was: 'can the science of evaluation really communicate the art of storytelling?' We also came up with the idea of the evaluation of storytelling through storytelling. The storytelling evaluation process is happening in several places around the world, But we could come up with some version of that ourselves. Lastly, concerning the changing of mindsets about evaluation might require moving from a quantitative to more qualitative methods of evaluation: things like longitudinal evaluation. We have lots of stories that go back fifteen years, but how do you evaluate that if your project last six months?

Group 4: We've got three questions. The first question is: are any aspects of storytelling not evaluable? Second question: how does evaluation capture the multiplicity of the voices of the stakeholders and over what time span? And, should we have evaluations at all? If so, under what conditions, including what relationship we should have with the evaluator itself.

Session 2: Wilhelm Verwoerd and Rick Davies

Paddy Logue: This morning we have two people who will be sharing their experiences. The first is my colleague in Irish Peace Centres Wilhelm Verwoerd, who is the programme co-ordinator for the deep dialogue programme. Wilhelm will be interviewed by Dr Rick Davies who comes to us as an independent monitoring evaluation consultant. One of the ways that Rick came to our attention was initially through his work on using storytelling as an evaluation technique.

Wilhelm Verwoerd: Well thank you for the opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you. What I am going to do is focus briefly on two key experiences that would be relevant to the focus of this workshop and trying to link it into group level. I'll start with something around the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and try to focus on the storytelling components of that process that I think would be valuable from an inter-group impact point of view, and then shift to the more recent work that I've been doing, mainly with Alistair Little. I'll talk about both because I think there is actually a tension between them and there is valuable learning in terms of what the strengths and the weaknesses of those respective ways of doing storytelling would be.

Let me start with the South African TRC. I'm going to assume a lot of people know a lot about the process. I am just going to remind you that the four basic purposes of that nationwide process really was to focus on getting as complete a picture as possible of human rights violations that took place between 1960 and 1994 in South Africa: so there was a truth-seeking purpose to it. There was an acknowledgement of victims that was essential to the process, in the sense that there was a specific purpose to provide a space for people who were violated through torture, abduction, severe ill treatment and killing, or people who had lost loved ones through those violations were given an opportunity in their own language to give an account of their experiences. That became known as the victim hearings or the human rights violations hearings. There was a focus on amnesty which was one of the purposes of the commission: to actually implement an individualised amnesty process. There was also a focus on trying to come up with recommendations on how to prevent future violations being committed in South Africa. So there was a truth seeking, an acknowledgement of victims, an amnesty part, and a preventative part as well to that process.

There were three areas within which I think storytelling really came to the fore, partly because it was such a public process, but also because I think it went beyond what was initially anticipated in setting up the commissions. The one that really became quite well known was the very public hearings that many people might have seen footage of. People from a range of different racial backgrounds were brought into a

public space and were given the opportunity to talk about their experience of torture or their experience of having lost a loved one. This was done in an official setting with a rainbow nation of commissioners from different racial cultural and gender backgrounds on the same level. They are very careful about how they set up those hearings, but providing space for the official acknowledgement of those people, who, often for the first time, were able to come forward and in their own language – we have about eleven official languages in South Africa – to be able to come forward and actually speak in their own languages and actually have a representative of the state (seen and experienced as an oppressive, dehumanising state) was for many of the people a significant moment.

Second to that probably would have been the amnesty part of the process. Here again you had individuals who came forward, and in this case, had to give an account of specific actions that they were involved in, and had to provide a political motive or a political context to what they did. But the significance was that this again took place in public. So you had people from a perpetrator point of view; some of the people who were actively involved in committing those human rights violations came forward in public and were talking about what they were involved in and were giving quite a lot of detail in terms of what they were involved in. The one that stands out for me that I think illustrated the power of that side of the storytelling process was one of the notorious security force people, Jeffrey Benzien, who became very well known for a certain type of torture technique - to place a wet bag over people's heads and nearly suffocate them until they give the information. At the hearing, one of the victims of that experience of torture was in the audience and was given the opportunity to also question the amnesty applicant. Jeffrey Benzien was then requested, in a sense required, by the victim to say you have to demonstrate what you did to me in public. And that became a public demonstration of that process: one of the people who were involved in the past was willing to experience it again in public. It was shown not only on national television but on the front pages of newspapers. That story became a very visible, very public part of that process.

There were a series of institutional hearings, where people who were linked to the media, to the judiciary, to the health sector, to the faith communities, and a whole range of sections or institutions within society, were invited to come into that space as representatives from those institutions. They were asked to talk about what really happened within those institutions that led to a culture of human rights violations. In what ways did they contribute to a culture of human rights by what they did or what they did not do? Again I think that was one of the really important parts of that process which probably is not well known outside South Africa. But I think when you talk about storytelling at an institutional level or an inter-group level, for me that really was the example that stood out. It was probably one of the most valuable parts of the process. In some ways, it was a top-down process sponsored by the state. But

it came through a democratic process in parliament, in the form of a Commission appointed by government. It took place all across the country, over a number of years. it was a very high-profile, very public, process with thousands of people involved - both in the victim hearings, in the amnesty hearings, and of course in the institutional hearings as well.

So that was, for me, a crucial glimpse into what this kind of work involves. I was working as a researcher within the South African Commission, within the Commission in the Cape Town office. And, in the background, I was involved in organising some of the hearings and helping with the background work. I then wanted to get more of a hands-on experience about what is actually involved in bringing people together from different backgrounds and experiences, especially in terms of storytelling.

Of course, I also became aware of some of the limitations of the South African process. *I, too, experienced the frustrations in trying to bring people forward, but not being able to really accompany them on a journey beyond the actual hearings that took place.* This is really why I was happy and fortunate to come to this part of the world. I started to work at Glencree, and over the years started to work very closely with Alistair, especially on the storytelling work, which he really has developed over a number of years. It allowed me to draw on a lot of experiences, including some of the South African experiences, as well through Michael Lapsley.



That process at Glencree is, in some ways, the opposite of what the South African TRC was about, in terms of the publicity, the large scale, the spotlight being put on people, the lack of intimate space to go into real depths, and the inability to really focus on your life story beyond the tragedy or the violation that you experience. Glencree was the opposite. So this process, what we call Journey Through Conflict, would have different phases. And the first phase really is this opportunity for these people to share something about their personal history. We don't actually like the language of storytelling to be honest, and some people really react to that, and say, 'my story isn't some kind of a fiction; it's a real life experience, and I want to have the space for that to be acknowledged.' So, we talk about the sharing of personal histories within the

context of a safe space, in the way that Judith talked about it. It usually involves working with about 12 people at a time within a two or three-day period; giving enough space for them to be able to begin sharing life experiences. This includes creating enough space to come out of that sharing, ready to go home more or less okay in terms of what they've opened up.

The challenge is: how do you provide those follow-up opportunities? That's what we love about the metaphor of a journey. And yes, for some of these people, one experience of sharing some of their life experience was enough. But sometimes they request further opportunities to continue a process. We then, work on with them on this. In such settings, individuals often feel the need to explore some of the difficult questions and issues that come up in the context of sharing of life experiences. This phase of the project is focused very much on trying to deepen understanding, trying to create a protected space, a contained space, within which people can be open and honest with each other. *We seek to collectively create a space of equality within which we can share and really listen; a space where individuals feel valued through the process of engagement; and where they deepen not only their understanding of the 'other,' but hopefully also the understanding of their own experience.* We have come to understand this process as a contribution towards humanisation. Again, we would not use the language of 'reconciliation.' Many of the other groups here at the workshop know that we are cautious about setting that up as an expected outcome of the process.

Individuals enter the second phase of the project only if they feel ready for it. And only if they want to engage some of the themes and questions that arose in the initiative story sharing phase. In the past, issues have included 'forgiveness,' and 'justice.' But it could include the broadest range of issues that people might want to explore. We call this phase of the process 'Roots of Reconciliation.' The challenge here is to create a space where people can openly and honestly tease out issues together; where they can exchange and engage each in a collective exploration life experience and difficult themes. It goes deeper than the intellectual level of understanding.

The next phase might be labelled 'Networking and Co-operative Action.' The project is not limited to inviting people to a place where they share some of their life experiences. The project also considers: how you invite people onto a journey; where there is space for that; where there is space to continue to explore issues; where there is space to actually do stuff together; and how to sustain those relationships over time. All of this is a very difficult thing to do.

In some ways, that makes it more difficult to evaluate storytelling, because you are not only talking about a particular mechanism, you talk about a stage on a journey. Sometimes it's quite difficult to pin point what exactly contributed to change. When you are in the midst of it -- when you are in that moment -- you can see exactly what

happens, and what connections are made within and between individuals. There are even 'aha!' moments. But it also quite intuitive sometimes. You can actually sense it and see it.

When you sit in one of these workshops, and you are with people for those two/three intensive days, you have a realisation: 'this is what it's all about.' It's not the full story. It's not the end of the journey. It is about continuing beyond the boundaries of that works. It is about accompanying people on a journey. It is about cultivating connections (within and between) that will hopefully endure over time. That is ultimately what we are trying to achieve.

Evaluative Interview 2: Wilhelm Verwoerd and Rick Davies

Rick Davies: I'd like to focus on the evaluation side of these activities; what experience there has been of evaluation, what is valuable, and to talk about the actual processes you've described but in the context of evaluation. I suppose for a starting point is, has there been any evaluation of those two projects?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: Well I think with the South African TRC there is a whole industry of books and writings and attempts to make sense of the process - some of which would have employed a more quantitative approach, for example, surveys and large-scale opinion polls asking people about the contribution of the process to reconciliation in their lives. I have always been very uncomfortable with some of those opinion polls. And then there have been people who, over time, have actually worked more closely with those who were involved in the process, especially on the victim's side. *There have been a number of projects where people have been interviewed, over time. This is more effective in tracking what the actual value of the experience was throughout the process* - which for many people was quite a positive experience. This also allowed monitoring of what happened afterwards - which for many people was a negative experience because of the lack of follow-up, the lack of reparation beyond the acknowledgement of their life experiences.

Rick Davies: Before we go into the second project can you perhaps highlight what you think is perhaps the most valuable findings from all that evaluative research, and secondly, perhaps the most negative finding in the sense of an unproductive way of going about evaluating that process. It might be a bit of a tall order because there is been a huge amount of work being done there. So, I am asking very much for a sort of subjective reaction based on what you did before.

Wilhelm Verwoerd: I think, for me, one of the most worrying forms of evaluation has been these kinds of national-level opinion polls, where people were asked across the racial categories questions like: 'do you believe that the South African TRC promoted

reconciliation between white and black South Africans.’ For me that just opens up a whole can of questions about what can you actually realistically expect such a process to achieve. The question needs clarification, before it is even asked. Because some people saw this process in newspaper articles and TV, and because it was so high profile, they almost expected the commission to achieve reconciliation. But realistically, it could only have ever been a limited contribution. *The question of what could realistically be achieved, was never clarified;* either by the Commission, or by the public process. So whether people responded, ‘no the Commission didn’t contribute,’ or ‘yes the Commission did contribute,’ I was still very troubled by the responses, because I don’t think people were clear about what actually was being evaluated here.

Rick Davies: What about on the positive side? Was there any particularly positive evaluation, as in the sense of constructive and useful?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: I am aware of a number of cases where people were able to track, on a longitudinal basis, the journey of people before the process, during the process, and after the process. Some of this has been captured quite publically in terms of media material. Those were the examples that resonated for me. This is an example of a story being captured of somebody on a journey. It conveys complexity. Yes, the Commission might have contributed in some positive way. But when that person goes home, they might still be living in a shack. And the people around them might still be in a difficult situation. Then there’s the possible of jealousy, because they were given a chance to speak, while others were not. There may be disgruntlement because they thought that the commission would deliver some kind of reparation; or because follow-up meetings are not attended by the Commission. These people became more visible, more public, because of the TRC process; they started to meet people that they would not have otherwise met. For some people, that contributed to their views of the TRC process. So there have been examples of that kind, of a longitudinal journey, that for me stand out.

Rick Davies: Let’s now switch to the Journey Through Conflict. Has there been an evaluation of that yet or not?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: Yes, the process is very carefully set up, so that this occurs at different stages of the 48-hour workshop, for example, when you ask someone to go away and do a particular activity -- say, prepare a lifeline or beads or whatever mechanism you use to present your life journey. *Before people enter into this space of sharing, there is always the space to reflect on what was it like for the person to do that activity. This is recorded carefully in the words of the people themselves. This happens on a regular basis throughout the workshop. And in that sense there is an on-going, reflective, evaluative space.*

Rick Davies: A building process.

Wilhelm Verwoerd: Yes. And sometimes you have the sort of more EU-focused evaluation, when people have to complete certain forms. However, we tend to be quite reluctant to rely on those for the actual storytelling process, because we just feel it's such a blunt instrument that that it is unable to capture the nuances. One process is actually in development, which for me stands out as something which has good potential. It is something Brandon Hamber is involved with that as well. We have been able to give people a set of questions at the beginning of the journey. People commit to a series of say, five, six residentials -- one of which would focus very much on storytelling. But at the beginning of the journey they are asked a set of quite detailed questions. At the end of the process, people are asked the same questions, which are again recorded. This is then being fed into NVivo software, with the support of INCORE. This helps us to identify and code certain things, so that we have some kind of an objective way to identify the frequency of certain themes; the frequency of certain changes that take place. This can then be analysed - and has been analysed, at least for one group that we have been working with. Irish Peace Centres is planning to do the follow-up in depth interviews of the people who have been through that process to see what has happened two, three years down the line. What kinds of changes have occurred? What has been the ripple effect? What were the impacts of the investment in those relationships that we worked with? Up until now, there has not been funding or space for that type of in-depth, qualitative longitudinal evaluation. I would love that kind of in depth, qualitative longitudinal evaluation to continue.

I think the process could be made even better by building in action research. That is, for an ethnographic, anthropologically trained researcher to become part of the actually journey of five residentials. That person would be there from the beginning to the end, to actually be able to capture the nuances and the detail of the process and its impacts. Relationships of trust would evolve between the researcher and the participants, so that when qualitative interviews were undertaken, there would a depth of understanding already present, which would facilitate both the interview and subsequent analysis. During the process and afterwards, there will be a depth of information that I think, up till now, has just never been captured. For me that would be the 'first prize.' if we can get to that point, I think we might just get some sense of the complexity and the richness of those experiences.

Rick Davies: Challenges in evaluation: one is summing up the experience from beginning to end - which is what you've described in the life of an individual. Another one is summarising experience for a group of people in a particular process. I think the NVivo qualitative analysis is one way of trying to make a statement about the group experience, but then if I understand correctly you have probably got a number

of these events involving different cohorts or participants and donors will probably be interested in some sort of aggregated statement about those whole sets of events.

Wilhelm Verwoerd: I think that is really what evaluation has not been able to capture, yet. The typical evaluation that you would get is an evaluator looking at, say, overall programmes, like the Irish Peace Centres - which would probably have twenty, thirty, fifty different strands of projects. So there is no way that one of those strands, such as the work that we do, would get the kind of funding and support for this kind of in-depth evaluation -- not only over one year, but over multiple years. We have been able to do it with a number of groups, but we have not been able to do it more broadly. And I think the quality of time and research that you need to do this properly is significant -- if it is going to be able to capture the experiences of, not only the journey of one group, but the individuals within that group, and the journey of the groups collectively, and finally, what actually happens once people go back into their communities and families and organisations. What happens in their communities and organizations over time? All of this needs to be captured.

Rick Davies: What interested me about both projects was that it seemed to be typical for most of them to have multiple parallel objectives. There were some objectives to do with the personal change of the individual, but there were also social objectives, how that person connected in their relationships. To what extent has that list of multiple objectives been a challenge for you when you are trying to evaluate your achievements? Or is it something you feel that you are on top of?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: Well, we've got another challenge on top of what we actually feel are the key objectives of your project. We also have to keep in mind the reconciliation objectives of the EU framework under which we have been funded. So there are these indicators related to attitudinal change, vision for the future, and dealing with the past. Some of those reconciliation strands would have featured in the questions that we ask people in the beginning. But we also try and really capture personal change; personal transformation of terms of attitudes towards others in the group. And finally, we try to monitor some of the relationships that start to develop within the group itself, over the course of the programme. The one that I feel we haven't really been able to capture adequately is what happens once people leave the more facilitated organised space of the programme. We know they return to their normal lives, where they initiate meetings and activities as a result of the connections and events that took place within the group. We are aware of some of these things but I have never felt that I have been able to capture them facet of the programme properly.

Regarding multiple objectives, I think we can manage this as long as we are quite clear about what we are talking about. This includes being clear about what stage of the journey we find ourselves in, since different things happen in different stages. So

one stage may focus on a certain issues through storytelling. While another stage may focus on the roots of reconciliation or the broader exploration of other themes.

The one area that I didn't speak about but which is essential to a lot of this work is the fact that we try to do this work in nature-based settings. *Undertaking this work in places of beauty and natural remoteness seems to add something to the whole process on two different levels. On one level, this environment positively contributes to building relationships between people. On the second level, this particular dimension of the programme begins to change the relationships between individuals and the environment - the land.* So, there is an emerging ecological objective which does not fit into the EU Peace III-speak, but this is actually essential to what we do. But this dimension of our work is quite difficult to unearth because a lot of the participants wouldn't immediately recognize this. For them, it is the engagement with the other. It is the engagement for their own individual purpose and motives. But we do believe that in terms of sustainable peace there is an ecological and environmental dimension. That's the one where I feel we have not made enough progress. This is one area, we intend to explore in the coming year.

Rick Davies: Closely related to this question of multiple objectives is the vexed question of indicators: to what extent do you think there are some areas of your work where it is possible to come up with some quantifiable indicators? And, will they work? Are there areas where this is simply not possible? Can you describe your indicators?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: I don't know whether people are familiar with the NVivo software. It is a research methodology that helps to generated quantifiable patterns within events or interview material. It provides the basis for statements like: '80% of people in the group were experiencing a change in their sense of fear or vulnerability'; or, 'a certain percentage of people feel that they have actually changed their attitude towards the other, in terms of a deepened the sense of connection with the other.' NVivo helps you to be able to stand back to identify these trends and patterns. If we are able to do those in-depth individual interviews (which we have not been able to do so far), and if we have a trained person who possesses sufficient attention to detail to transcribe and analyse these kinds of themes, then I think you will be able to develop a more detailed understanding of what is actually happening. Part of me still struggles with software and computerised things - but if we can do this, I think we will come up with a wonderful and valuable body of evidence to work with.

Rick Davies: I want to talk now about the concept of theory of change. Theory of change is your idea of how you think you will achieve your objectives, and what steps that would be necessary to follow it. When I heard your description of your work, and

as I recalled yesterday's discussion, I heard people talking about the importance of the setting, of creating a safe place, and the importance of facilitation. These are all elements of your theory of change, and the necessary ingredients to achieve your objectives. I am wondering where do you think your theory of change is best articulated and thought through? And where do you think it is perhaps the least well thought out?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: In broad terms, there is a sense in which we accept that if you talk about social change, there is an institutional, legal dimension to it. But there is also a relational dimension. In the aftermath of violent conflict, there are broken relationships and broken trust. This needs to be addressed explicitly. This is where we fit in. This is our broad starting point. Then, you go to the next level and ask, in terms of the specific activities that you do. We ask ourselves: how does our work contribute to the cultivation of new relationships, or sustainable relationships, or positive relationships. That's the one area where I feel we have not really had the space to reflect on this, and analyze it.

There is a risk that an evaluation framework may create a fear to explore these things, warts and all. Or that it may create confusion so that you are not quite sure where it is going. You become afraid to make mistakes. You are afraid to acknowledge mistakes. So in terms of a theory of change, this is difficult to test. So we try something and ask, has this worked or not? We learn as we go along, and are constantly changing the process. We try something, and if it doesn't work, we go back and ask why. Is it because of the character of that particular group, or the individual, or is it because of the process? If we see that it is the process, then we change it. This is something that happens in practice. We have not been able to look back over the last five years to systematically examine the various points where changes were made in the process, or why they were made. We have not been able to articulate this process within some kind of coherent theory of how our work contributes to the improvement of very sustainable relations. There is no question that this would be a very valuable way to go. We often lament the lack of quality reflective space for practitioners.

Rick Davies: I have two observations. One is that a project can achieve its objectives, but it may arise from causes within the project other than those that we expect. In this case, you actually have to show that your interventions contributed to that particular outcome, and having a clear theory of change that you can make explicit is the way to do that. It sounds like you are on the way there. The other point is about clarification of the dynamics underpinning your theory of change. For this, you need to generate a body of knowledge about this whole experience which other people can use. To what extent do you think you've been able to generate a body of knowledge about the Journey Through Conflict programme which is now accessible and usable to others?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: You are putting your finger on a very sore point, and source of frustration! We've got lots of material lying around. And I know other groups have made good progress developing their material. While there are similarities between our programme and others, I think that we have developed in different ways, with different personalities, different processes, and different groups. All of these contribute to the evolution of a unique process. Sure, there are more answers that need to be captured. While we are making some progress with this, we've got lots of things floating around. Unless we find some kind of protective space to do that kind of qualitative writing and capturing of lessons, I think we will not get there. One of my fears is that we will come to the end of this funding period and that all this richness will be lost.

Rick Davies: If I can just make a point about the issue of cost effectiveness. The process may be very expensive. But if you can generate a body of knowledge that other people can use so that they do not have to go through all the same learning processes that you went through, then the cost effectiveness of that investment is that much greater. What about unexpected outcomes of this project? Can you tell us about any of those?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: The moment you bring a group of people together from all these different backgrounds and different conflict experiences, there is going to be a journey. You have some sense of guidance and facilitation, but there are many elements beyond your control. *Built into our understanding of this work is a profound humility and a profound sense of respect that comes with being invited into people's lives. We encourage them to take risks and go to places. Ultimately, our role is more that of a cultivator, than a builder.*

That's my problem with this peace-building language: it's sometimes all over the place. We are not building peace or building people, we are cultivation connections. This is a metaphor that makes sense. It is about change in the actual life energy that happens in the people, in relationships. At best you can provide a space, or a climate, for it to happen. Where it goes, it goes. That's why when we invite people into the process; we say this will deepen understanding. We can be pretty sure it will contribute to humanisation. But beyond that, we don't want to predict where this will go. We don't want people to come into a space and feel they have to walk into the sunset holding hands at the end because that is not the way these things actually work. So there is an open-endedness within a framework. It is not that anything goes, but there is that sort of humble openness about these journeys.

Rick Davies: Point taken, but can you give me what you think is an interesting example of an unexpected outcome?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: We were in Scotland a few weeks ago. Alistair comes from a loyalist background, and his back wasn't great on the way back from the camping experience. We had to go over quite slippery rocks, and the person who ended up helping him most was somebody from a republican ex-prisoner background. At the beginning of the process we would never ever have expected that. The helping wasn't contrived; there was a genuine care which was followed up on conversations later. So often it's those relationships between people that you never ever thought might happen. And for some reason: personality, experience, the weather turning bad - suddenly we have to struggle to get over wet rocks, people have to help each other. Suddenly things change in a way that you can't expect. And it is those things, the magic moments that sometimes happen. How do you capture that?

Rick Davies: Would you feel comfortable reporting that sort of incident to your donors?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: I would be comfortable with the permission of the people involved. But this is just one moment in a five-day process. I could have given you twenty moments within that one process. That is one workshop within a series of five. So if we can have somebody present during the whole process, with the ethnographic, anthropological action research evaluation approach, then that person could capture those moments, because it is in the informal sessions where the conversations all happen, where the meetings happen afterwards.

Rick Davies: The final question is looking into the future; what are your expectations of any evaluation activity in the future? What would you really like to see and really not like to see?

Wilhelm Verwoerd: What I would not like to see is a continuation of the sort of *broad funding-driven evaluation which I think in the end corrupts the process, corrupts your integrity. It is dispiriting*. It takes your energy away, because when you do this work, you do it with great passion, you put your heart and your soul and everything into it. And then you've got these evaluation forms which you have to fill in. You have to think about what the funders will say and there is almost a violence in that. It doesn't respect the shyness and the humanity of that process. So if you can find an evaluation process that has some respect for the genre of the process and get the quality information that will meet the needs of the funders and meet the needs of broader society, then I think we can make progress. The closest model that I can think of is this notion of an action research, ethnographic presence during a process even for some projects. You can't do that with all projects, but if you can have that with a few, and have examples of the richness that comes out of that, that will tell the story itself. I think that will win the argument; it will just be obvious to anybody. Then you can do your other forms of evaluation if you have to, the less energy-intensive ways. I

think what we've done with the questionnaires before and after and follow-up, as well as individual interviews. This is probably the second best option. But that requires time, energy, and investment way beyond what is possible. Another challenge is to find people who have the research skills but also the respect and understanding of the process, because we do not allow observers, or objectification of people, in the process. We would need somebody who would be clear in their role as a researcher or evaluative researcher in the group process, but the person will have to be carefully selected to be able to respect the process so that people are not damaged by how things are later reported for example by somebody going in there because they want to write a book at the end. You want somebody who would have respect for the process and the people and have the skills to capture it in a way that we often don't have the time to do as facilitators.



Session 3: Paul Hogan and Claudia Fontes

Kenneth Bush: In this session we will hear about an initiative on the east coast of Sri Lanka, the Butterfly Garden by Paul Hogan, who is the Artistic Director of the garden.

Paul Hogan: Thanks Ken. I am an artist, and I guess what you would call a practitioner. I don't know that much about evaluation, so this is very much learning experience for me and a very important one because our garden at this present moment faces a lot of challenges and I think if we had a way of evaluating ourselves that made sense it would be very helpful.

The butterfly garden began as a health and peace initiative for the Centre of International Health at McMaster University in Canada in 1994, and it was intended to provide a healing space for kids affected or traumatised by the war in Sri Lanka. Since then, over a 14-year period, over 3000/3500 kids have participated in its core nine-month programme. This is for both youths and children, and 11,000 kids have taken part in shorter residential programmes. Some 2000 children have participated



in village programmes that we have and many thousands of others have visited the garden from school programmes that last for just one day or a morning. We also have adult training at our centre in Batticaloa on the west coast of Sri Lanka in which over 500 people have participated. After the tsunami in 2004 the garden opened two satellite smaller gardens: one in a Muslim village called Kalbela and the other in a Hindu village called Tiramadu. These run year round, and we opened a centre for adult training called the Monkey's Tale Centre for contemplative art and narration in Batticaloa. We have a new garden in the south in the Sinhula area called Cala Balla Bindu which is Singhalese for something like 'Zigzag zero garden' and another centre for adults in Negombo on the west coast called the Crippled Crow Centre.

Each and every one of these centres seems to open an empty space; to allow a new dream to be born: the dream of transforming the culture of violence and destruction that has dominated Sri Lankan society for more than a generation with one of compassion and creativity. While different methods are employed in the centres dedicated to adults and those that serve children, the main concern is a wish to awaken the original heart, and to encourage people to open up to the creative engagement that is available for them in this world. The idea of discovering one's originality in the company of others who may formerly have been foes is central to the healing paradigm of the garden path. The means that we use to accomplish this is storytelling and story creation. What I am going to talk about mostly here is story creation; that is a very important tool in the garden, in making up the stories and fables based on animals. The biographical details of their life are not what we are looking for, primarily, in the Butterfly Garden.

So speaking about the story ground of the garden: the creative flow of the garden as it intermingles with the grim reality in which it is embedded is the matrix of its poesis. This is a field of paradox, and to engage it in a beneficial way requires more than passive presence: it must be a generative presence involving concentration and considerable intellectual discipline on the part of the animators of the garden. These animators know only too well the oppression of living in a militarised society, having grown up there themselves. But through the same practices of the garden path, they tap into a countervailing stream of images and stories which nourish and replenish the soul. So there is a practice in the garden: quite an elaborate practice, which the animators learn and have learned, and actually formed themselves over years of working with the children. This is what we call the seed practice of the garden: it's quite elaborate, but there is a structure, and within the structure it's completely free for the kids and the structure is largely something that gives the animators a common purpose, a map they are following.



They share the stories they find through following this process of the garden path, and elucidate various means they use to uncover these stories within themselves. The animators encourage children to open up and to share what they know, and indeed at a deeper level to reveal who they are and to fearlessly be who they are. These garden stories are exchanged in a variety of ways; some as straightforward as telling an imaginative tale found in the day's play, or sharing a personal tale with an animator in the 'cuckoo's world' which is a part of the garden set aside for one-to-one interaction. So there is a space in the garden where kids do tell their biographical stories to counsellors: animators too are trained in accompaniment counselling. But more often these stories are told in costume: in mask, theatre; music; song, dance, painting, performance, games, ritual and ritual games; all of which are original. They make up everything: the songs they make up, the stories they make up, the costumes they design. These might be built with artists: all the animators are artists, so that sometimes when kids can't actually do some of the things that they think up, they are helped in this process by the artists.

This interaction is playfully spontaneous but what rises to the surface in these exchanges, whether between the children themselves or between adults or between adults and children, is a sense of their own agency and ability to experience and engage with a radically altered way of being in the world – quite different from that other side which is very subservient, very oppressed, very obedient.

Some of the impacts, the altered ways of being that we encourage in the garden is that they experience a shared sense of beginning again. Very often in Batticaloa, because of the war, and because of the tsunami, we have experienced everything being broken, and that was a policy decision of the military to break people's lives. How do you inspire a sense of courage and perseverance in kids? This idea of beginning again is something that we encourage and I can give examples of that. We encourage the children to find a way to enjoy the experience of their own originality. They witness and delight in the originality of others within their own group or on the other side. They think and act for themselves instead of passively following orders of others and accepting their lot as given. They find beauty, and they can see beauty, and be able to create beauty around themselves in spite of the desolation that they may experience. They make friendships with people who are different from themselves, children who are different from themselves. They make bridges between broken and isolated parts of themselves and their communities. They develop and nurture an environment of compassion, not only for other humans but for all beings: there are a lot of animals in the garden. They take care of the garden, of all the flowers and the different animals that live there. They become more comfortable with uncertainty, change and states of insecurity. They see through difficulties and see difficulties through to a deeper sense of meaning and mission rooted in compassion. In a word, in the garden, the children discover the reciprocity of the garden and it gives them

what they need to realise its gifts and then share them with one another and with their community. With this new-found ability to engage these healing aspects of themselves on behalf of the community, they no longer need to be victims of scripts written by others, scripts which are inevitably exclusionary, one-sided, and self-serving.

The new stories that the children find in the garden include children of other faiths, traditions, and ethnicities, and these new stories include difference, and they celebrate diversity. Right now, in Batticaloa and in the Trinco areas of Sri Lanka there is supposed to be a whole policy of reconciliation but in fact nothing much has happened and what they are seeing is quite the reverse; so the government is very authoritarian and its aims are not to encourage reconciliation although they use the language of it very often. So this whole thing about duplicity came out in the garden recently when the children found a white crow. A white crow, as you may or may not know, if you release it, is destroyed by the black crows. So they had to keep it in a cage. They had a choice of either the bird dying or keeping it in a cage, so they made a very big cage that goes through the trees and has two snake heads at either end. He lives in there, that white crow with a black crow. They're friends, and they live at either end of this duplicitous arrangement that they have. And they made an opera about this bird.

Evaluative Interview 3: Paul Hogan and Claudia Fontes

Claudia Fontes: The task we have ahead is to try to explore what would be an appropriate evaluative approach that is useful to you. Hopefully we can discuss it at the societal level. Maybe it is a little bit of a stretch to go from very deep personal processes, to measure what impact those processes have in society. Maybe you could also talk about the evaluation experiences you've had: external evaluations you've had, and how they were conducted.

Paul Hogan: There has been some evaluation and monitoring of the Butterfly Garden. And they were all related to funding. However, there haven't been any evaluative interventions that would help us to deliver a programme more effectively at all. They have all been very short two or three-day auditing interventions that have basically related to how we are using donor monies. They do focus very much on the creative processes and dynamics of the Garden, or on how effective they are.

Claudia Fontes: *Did you learn anything from those processes?*

Paul Hogan: *Well I learned I don't much like them! The thing is, that they make people very nervous* – the people there the Butterfly Garden – in the middle of a war zone in Eastern Sri Lanka. Outsiders come from Europe, or from where ever the donor comes

from, and people in the Garden don't really understand why they are there or what they want. I think it injects fear into them. And they lose confidence that they can do what they are expected to do (and what they have been doing). There is a tension between their felt responsibilities to their communities, to their children, under very stressful circumstances, and to the funders and their various constituencies – be it governments or the donating public in western countries. So generally, it's not a welcome visit when they come for evaluation.

Claudia Fontes: It is true that you have had 30,000 children pass through the gates of the Butterfly Garden?

Paul Hogan: Yes, we have many programmes. There is a core programme which is the one that we feel is the important programme, where kids come for two days a week for nine months. They first go through a stage of general uninhibited playing with art and materials and with each other. Very often they are not familiar with the material, except for clay: clay they just absolutely and immediately understand. We have this place called the mud mountain, where they go and make whatever they want: elephant, duck, truck, tank, soldiers, whatever. And then, they spontaneously start telling stories. There is something about the mud. The stories come from the mud in their hands. Then, sometimes, the Garden clowns appear. But they only appear when they are ready to bring the children's own stories back to them. They'll take stories created by other children from the mud mountain, and then dress them up, and present them to the children. What's interesting about story in that case is that the kids are constantly changing the story. One time there's three white ducks, and the next time there's two white ducks and a black one. One little girl might observe that the black duck wasn't there before – which subsequently raises questions about who is the father of that black duck. As you can imagine, it can get very, very intricate. Importantly, these stories are generated spontaneously by the kids themselves. The clowns are listening and they'll make a story that is based on that story. But, of course, it isn't that story. It is a story of a story that becomes its own story in its own right. Related to, but separate from, the first one. Each story is as authentic as the previous one. The kids recognise this.

What happens then, is that many, many of these stories make it to a kind of "hit parade." Story characters become like the characters in tele-dramas in the childrens' minds. Only they are the collective creations of the children themselves. Like the giant and his wife, and the giant's girlfriend; all these different characters. They want to see another episode with the giant. Then, they want to see what is going to happen next when the giant takes his girlfriend to the planet Plusis and his wife hires three magicians—one Catholic, one Muslim and one Tamil— to put a hex on her husband so that he is not really attractive to FiFi Farfauna! And then something happens. Then something else happens. And on it goes. The stories are very intricate, but. I have

worked out a process of collecting the mythography. The stories are taped at certain points, then transcribed and checked, before being translated from Tamil to English. Then, these versions are also sometimes translated back into Tamil, and Sinhala.

These stories change all along the way. So, what does that tell you about stories?

Claudia Fontes: What I want to know is this: how is this massive collection of stories released into the world if everything happens in the Garden?

Paul Hogan: Theatre, mainly. This idea of poesis is very, very important in creating agency in a kid. This is an organic process of creating the space within which a child may encounter his or her own originality and creativity. In the first part of that nine month project, they are just learning to use tools and play with stuff. Then they learn that they can make a mask; and then they learn that they can make the mask of that character; and then they learn that they can wear that mask. Then it strikes them: "Hey, I can be that character." From there, they learn the dramaturgy of putting together an opera - a musical opera with processional kinds of stuff. This is a very complex process which they take to naturally.

Claudia Fontes: I wanted to ask because I understand that what goes on the garden is quite intense. This is clear in the books that have been published by the Butterfly Garden, But how do you communicate that? How do you put it out in the world? What are the channels through which you have some impact on the larger society, apart from the children themselves?

Paul Hogan: Outside of Sri Lanka or Asia?

Claudia Fontes: In Sri Lanka, outside the garden.

Paul Hogan: The books are published in both Tamil and Sinhala and we also have a magazine which is filled with children's stories that is published in Tamil but is also published once a year in Sinhala. The English versions of those books go into schools where they study English all over the island and also go outside.

Claudia Fontes: Do you have any records of what happens to people when they confront this material?

Paul Hogan: No.

Claudia Fontes: You also told me that you have your own ways of assessment which are quite organic. How do you develop your methodologies on how to retrieve these stories from the children, and how do you tweak and change things when some things

have do not seem 'to be working', or when they have negative outcomes? Is it quite delicate trying to assess if poesis is happening; to assess whether it is present in the practice?

Paul Hogan: I see it as a success when the play works; when the kids are involved. They watch it, they laugh, and they create new characters for it. To me that's an evaluation of the success of their being able to communicate imaginatively and very effectively to other children. There is another level of impact when the parents come to watch these performances, particularly the opera. In this way, the message goes out throughout Batticaloa District: that this place is where creativity predominates over the destruction that is rampant everywhere around them. It is a place where kids can be kids, where Muslim plays with Tamil plays with Christian.

In the beginning we had a lot of trouble getting Muslim and Tamil kids to play together and to create these things together. Partly, this is because each of those cultures are quite different. Even within Islam, there are differences and sub-groups. In Batticaloa, there are the Sufi Sects which share some sensibilities with the dominant Hindu culture around them. For example, they are really colourful in their dress and creativity. Then there's the Wahabi influence, which, in contrast, tends to be very spare. And of course, since the various Gulf Wars, there is a lot of militancy in Islam in general. So having these kids play together initially requires them to overcome what here in Northern Ireland, you call 'interfaces' in order to arrive at that place where collective theatre is made. That place where they work together in play to decide what they are going to present and how. But all of this is decided among themselves. They work out what works. What we see is just get more and more people coming to the performances. That must be some sort of measure of impact: I mean they are coming. However, we have free rice and curry as well. So that might be it too!

Claudia Fontes: So the main indicator to success is the relevance of what has been produced in the community, which is measured by the assistance and participation of audiences?

Paul Hogan: Yes there are all sorts of sensitive things that happen at certain moments in villages. The Maulvi (Muslim elder) might say 'we don't want our children to go there anymore' – which has happened. Then the kids ask us to send a delegation to talk to the Maulvi and to explain what we are doing. In every instance, we have had success in bringing the kids back into Garden - to the point where some very orthodox Muslims have asked us to set up gardens just for them, doing exactly everything that we do, but they just want it for Muslims! While that is not what we do, this did happen, in a way, after the tsunami, in an area called Karbula, which is a strictly Muslim village. The transformation of the Maulvi's view of the Garden from one of suspicion and distrust, to one of support, is itself another kind of indicator. A very situation-specific indicator, but an indicator nonetheless.

Claudia Fontes: I wanted to know, what would be, for you, the ideal methodology to evaluate your project? You are assessing the progress of the children as you go, but you can't gather information about what is going on with the process outside of the Garden walls.

Paul Hogan: *I would like someone who is an artist, a clown, a methodologist, and an evaluator.* I would like someone: to live in Batticaloa; to watch what happens; to become a part of the story; to talk to the people who work in the garden; to talk to the children and their parents; to absorb everything that happens in a war zone; to consider everything else; and then to simply figure out, and then let us know. That seems like a very complex process, because it is. But I think it could be guided and sorted by a couple of simple categories: (a) these kinds of things that you do are helpful; and (b) these kinds of things that you do are not so helpful.

We know this already at a basic, intuitive, poetic, level. But we need to be able to communicate this to donors, so that they can understand how this stuff works at the interface between creativity and militarized violence. This is very important at the level of funding politics.

We can see with our own eyes that the community likes the Garden; it likes the impact on their kids; it likes the art which is created in its creative space. You need to keep in mind that for most of the life of the Garden, it has rested literally on the front lines of the dirty wars between various government forces, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and a variety of armed splinter groups. Yet, *despite the ebb and flow of atrociously violent incidents, everybody on the ground thinks the Garden is okay. They understand it. And there are many, many stories that could be told to illustrate this. However, it is the donors who don't necessarily 'get it.'* So, there has to be something (a communication shunt?) between the donor communities, the developed world communities, the Garden, and the communities of Batticaloa. Something that is friendly to the people, not fear-creating or confusing. *The way it currently stands, evaluation and international assistance is a kind of colonialism; it's a new kind of colonialism I suppose.*

Claudia Fontes: When I watched your video I thought, "Who made the video?" Who was behind the camera?

Paul Hogan: It was people in the garden; we had two people who did that.

Claudia Fontes: Who edited the video?

Paul Hogan: The same people. But this was made for a very specific purpose. As a result, some of what you saw there is like a fashion show. For example, some of the

dances by the 'duplicity dancers' were not what you would have seen in the full, final, production. However, some of those scenes were actually from the duplicity dance - which is a very elaborate dance that went on for some 55 minutes. For the video, the children just walked around with the masks on and were shot them like that. Some of the photographs come from the tsunami period: some of them are war photographs. But when you see the images of soldiers walking in the street, that's right now; that's two weeks ago in Batticaloa. The presence of the army and military, in spite of the war having being won, is very high.

Claudia Fontes: When I asked these questions about the video, I was wondering whether video could be used as an evaluative tool, if it were used by the children themselves portraying their experiences. They could show what they value and what they don't just by moving the camera.

Paul Hogan: It wasn't done, but it could be done.

Claudia Fontes: But what would happen if you sent that to the donor; would they appreciate that? Would it make any sense to them?

Paul Hogan: I think the Netherlands-based Humanist Institute for Cooperation (HIVOS) would make sense of it. But I don't think others necessarily would. Some donors that I know, and have worked with in the past like HIVOS have no money anymore. The ones who have money right now use it for relief and recovery from the operations in the North, so they are rebuilding the physical infrastructure and so on. They are not supporting stuff like this. Their building orientation sometimes limits their ability to appreciate or understand other approaches, including more organic, less mechanistic, approaches.

Claudia Fontes: And what would it take to bridge that gap from your point of view?

Paul Hogan: With the donors?

Claudia Fontes: Yes. To gain a common understanding of the situation.

Paul Hogan: I personally have given up on NGOs now in Sri Lanka. For one thing, the government is very hostile towards them – and has been over the last few years. In some cases, there are legitimate reasons. This has limited NGO independence and ability to work in the country, especially in the east. As a result, the Garden is looking at different ways of achieving financial sustainability. We are currently preparing a website that will contribute towards the development of a different model of sustainability; one that will focus on cultivating a private donor base, a philanthropic base. These would be individuals who understand intuitively and artistically what we are doing, and who are not encumbered with the usual donor bureaucratic

limitations. We are going to people that we know are already very predisposed to work with this kind of thing. Following the tsunami, an organisation of doctors in Italy found us, and connected with what we were doing. They were called Medici del Mundo, and they were fantastic. They provided a modest amount of money, around 10,000 Euros. But we were able to use it in a very targeted way. All they wanted in return were the reports from the kids and pictures of the Garden so that they could relate the stories back to the people in the Tyrol who had gifted the money. And this money was simply given by people in the villages that these doctors served. That was very good, but there wasn't very much money. I would like to find more people like that if it's possible. Something based on a more personal, and less bureaucratic, relationship with the Garden. Person-to person, rather than donor-to- project. We are trying.

Claudia Fontes: I know the Carmen Trust in England used to have these funds specifically for children: children in a community can apply directly to the trust by submitting a collective drawing. As judges are children as well, adults weren't involved at all, other than facilitating the whole thing. So in a way the power was given to children to assess what was important to them.

Paul Hogan: That's interesting.

Claudia Fontes: I was wondering if we could develop a methodology to assess those very intimate things that have happened to these children in this place - how can we respect the framework that involves being creatively flexible, and creates a flow and doesn't interrupt the process you are going through, and which proposes engaging processes where the children are eager to tell their stories.

Paul Hogan: This is what the kids engage in all the time; this kind of self-evaluation - when we're doing a dance or piece of theatre, for example. They are constantly evaluating for themselves, what works and what does not work. That is, they decide what works best to communicate their experiences and aspirations. While the boys' dances and the girls' dances are very different, both involve the same kind of self-evaluation. It takes a lot of organisation and they require an enormous amount of discipline. There is a play programme and out of that come these different ideas, images, and stories. It requires a certain amount of discipline to get the theatre of it across to the audience of the community. When we have rehearsals for these big things the kids come and they stay all night. Some of the kids come and stay for two weeks to work on things like those masks. They take a long time to paint, so there is a bit of muscle behind it but there is a great willingness to participate and to show that aspect of their talents. All of this, together, constitutes a very kinetic methodology for creating a space for the kids to create and present, with full and unfettered imagination their stories and ideas for themselves, and for the communities from which they come.

One thing that I think is very important concerns beauty. Beauty, and the way we cultivate it. The image I use to explain how this works in the Garden is this triple spiral - and I think you would understand it in Ireland: it's called the blessing way of the spiral tree, but really what's essential to this whole thing is the loss, the terrible loss of beauty. Batticaloa is a very beautiful place. But it has been smashed. The kids have lost the sense of their own beauty, and the beauty of the place where they live - the natural beauty of the place, and the architectural beauty. *It is this loss of beauty which is far more devastating than the violence.* It is not the violence, but the loss of beauty, that I mourn. We encourage the children constantly to take care of their garden: 'everything can be smashed all around you, but take care of your garden. Your garden is your soul. Your soul is your garden. Learn to sweep. The ground of this garden is the ground of your soul.' And every morning you hear this 'sweep-sweep.' You know, they say that breath sweeps the mind. And when you sweep the site, there is an integration between what goes on inside and outside. We hope that this gradually helps to seed beauty back in their minds, their lives, and their community.

Claudia Fontes: There was an element that you told me was central to the way you work, and that was spontaneity. You want to provoke these people to respond in a very spontaneous way. I thought maybe it was relevant to everyone who is involved in this storytelling because *when you tell your story over and over it can become the official story that blocks out other stories* that you might have as well. How do you recover spontaneity with people?

Paul Hogan: We find some of the most amazing kids. Everybody was totally staggered by this particular boy. He had been in the garden as a kid. Then, he came in as a youth and took to dancing. You saw him in the video. He has no training whatsoever, and they were saying he has a devam that is, he is divinely inspired to the point of possession. He's totally spontaneous. He works with a musician in the Garden who normally works in the temples. The connection between dancer and drummer was immediate and spontaneous. Similarly, we have storytellers; children who come, and spontaneously stand up to make stories out of the stuff they find and see there in the garden. It is the completely spontaneous reaction of these very gifted people. This kind of originality is the basis of the Garden. They can't find it anywhere else - not in their schools, churches, temples, or mosques. It is not really that dissimilar from the situation here in the West.

Claudia Fontes: But you see this as being linked to the 'storymaking,'? That process of sitting together to make something? Is that is how the stories come out?

Paul Hogan: Yes, that is one way. It is an organically creative process that contrasts with the devastation outside; a devastation which will corrode and corrupt the inside of a child. It will make them into zombies. They will feel as if they have no worth

whatsoever. But for example, as the ex-combatant is painting, he or she may tell you, incidentally or elaborately, with or without prompting, what happened to them; or how they were abducted; or why they went, or chose to go with the rebels. You see that they had no other choices. While the theatre and creative expression in the Garden may project facets of these stories, they also illuminate other possibilities. In that sense, this creates the possibility for the kids to participate in a transformative process of their own lives – which allows for so many other possibilities than joining the rebels or living a life of violence.

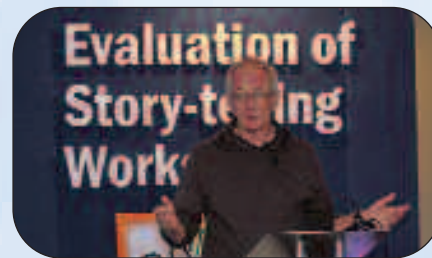
Feedback after Discussion 3

Group 4: We were talking more about the development of a common process of evaluation rather than on specific tools. We were more focused on trying to create a set of principles that should be embedded in evaluation. This might be done by identifying and sharing different methodologies that have been, or could be, used more effectively. One of the principles that we talked about was making sure that evaluation methodology was tailored to the particular features of storytelling initiatives - able to capture the subtleties and nuances of process and impacts. We also talked about a follow-on event to this to share some of the methodologies that seem to 'work.' This could include inviting selected evaluators to speak about the methods they used. We also talked about having a surgery style workshop where a group would present a story-based project to a group of practitioners and evaluators, who would work with that group to assess it. The final point concerned the creation of a learning community which would include people who are here and people who aren't here. The mix of practitioners and evaluators was really important in continuing that sharing and learning.

Group 1: We were lucky enough to have Paul in our group, so, as you can imagine, there were lots of stories. But we were thinking that instead of looking for the positive societal impacts of the Butterfly Garden, we would be better off starting with the question: 'what would a peaceful society look like in Sri Lanka.' We would then have a better idea of where to look, and what to look for, in terms of impacts. We would be better positioned to trace the ways in which the work of the Garden, including storytelling, might contribute to creating this reality. But, when the societal norm is fear and militarized violence, then we look for societal impacts in those spaces, or pockets, of creative normalcy. Indeed, the simple creation of these spaces in contradistinction to a culture of war is a societal impact in terms of presenting an alternative.

Group 3: We started by talking about art and the creative process within storytelling and story generation. We explored the question of what processes storytelling might help to facilitate? We felt that story generation might help some people's stories

evolve out of rigid or polarized positions. This, however, could be perceived by some individuals or groups as a threat, because of the attachment to they have to the familiarity and security of their 'unchanging' stories (even if that story is disempowering). A changed story raises questions of the truth of the original version, as well as of the core identity of the teller. We talked about the vocabulary we have to describe and communicate storytelling, peace-building and evaluation. We thought about how, by changing some basic words evaluation might not be seen as something wholly negative. For example, if we simply used the term 'harvesting', we might better be able to conceive of peace cultivating instead of peace-building. When you change the metaphor you change the associated methodology: building is associated with engineering, but cultivation leads towards methodologies associated with gardening, and ecosystem balance. This encourages the understanding that there are natural forces at force that are beyond your individual control.' Nurturing' begins to replace the underpinning logic of domination, mastery and control. Lastly, while we understand the reluctance to reproduce one piece of work somewhere else, nonetheless we are keen to consider what wisdom can be shared in order for us to learn to apply learning in utterly different contexts with different characteristics.



Paul Hogan: Just one other thing that I think is very important and unique about the last presentation. We talked a little bit about art itself as a form of storytelling; and about art being very different, in the sense that it is a means of telling stories that can't be told. In fact, *art can be a means of telling stories that can't even be conceived of until they are created*. So, there is something about that creative process which distinguishes story creation from biographical storytelling. There is something in this observation that we felt needed to be explored a lot more because it is different from the way we tend to use the term 'storytelling.' There is something about art, and the creation of story through art, that makes it a different but still somewhat related beast from the storytelling with which we are more familiar.

Judith Thompson: I think one of the great values of having Ken Bush in our group was that he knows your work so well, Paul. Consequently, he was able to identify a number of societal impacts from your work that you had not named. For me, this

suggests the utility of having the outside 'other' friendly eye when we are looking for that reflective space to evaluate ourselves. This begs the question of how do we move from this fearful sense of 'I don't want to be evaluated' -- which you shared, and which many of us have shared -- to the sense of evaluation as a supportive appreciative eye. Ken obviously has an appreciative eye about what you've done. You've created an amazing thing there. And that's where the whole idea of a new metaphor came in: of looking at this, not as a mechanistic thing, but moving from that to an organic, gardening, metaphor.

Paul Hogan: The key there is the long-term and open-ended association of the 'observer' to the initiative being observed. Ken has known the garden for a long, long time. He has done some trouble shooting for the garden along the way, but he's never ever imposed himself in any way. The long term association has been very important for the Garden. It has, for example, created the space for the development of complete and unquestioned mutual trust and respect -- which was absolutely critical when he was called up to help with issues related to funder politics or external intrusions into, or distractions from, the Garden's core work -- or what we would consider 'sacred' work. The lesson to draw from this is that you have to find people who are available in that same way over a long period of time and who are very open, understanding, and committed to the processes involved -- organic processes of learning through presence and extended contact.

Group 2: The first issue picked up in our group discussion was the emphasis at the Butterfly Garden placed on the artistic "product" as well as process. Typically, in these types of discussion, we hear that emphasis should be placed on the process, which tends to downgrade the product. But here we see that attention must be paid to the artistic product (whether it is a dance, a poem, a child's sculpture, or a theatre piece) since it is the entire process is shaped by the production of a particular creative, original, object. In the video, we see so clearly the attention to detail, and the time that they took, in making their masks and how much they valued it. I thought that was significant. The value and beauty of the resulting art reflected the value of the creative processes that produced it. The second issue that we flagged was the power and utility of myth - which is not something we tend to use here in our society (at least not in the same way as at the Garden, where the children themselves create and live in their own fantastical myths). The place of the biographical story wasn't supreme. Although it was present, it stood alongside, or in the shadow of, the mythical or the imagined or the creative story. The third issue we discussed were the tensions between spontaneous creativity within the project on the one hand, and the regimented society outside the project. I've been working in this game a long time and I have never, ever, heard the word beauty used before in the work of peace-building and reconciliation. The unashamed assertion of beauty, vis-a-vis destruction, is a powerful image for us. We also thought that the Garden had obvious societal

impacts, for example, the use by local schools of the story books created by the children in the Garden. In Northern Ireland, we'd do anything to get our work and material into schools. That is a fabulous societal impact. And last, but not least, our group also addressed the area of metaphor; the idea that peace is a process of cultivation, not of building. Also, we liked the emphasis on the linking of intra-personal inner peace, or the inner being, with the interpersonal me. Finally, a point on the ecological impact of the project, there's a very strong sense of place. All of these things, we found really inspirational.

Final Plenary Discussion

Claudia Fontes – Storytelling as a Means of Evaluation:

Over the next short while, I am going to talk about the way in which I have come to use storytelling in my work as an evaluator using the “Most Significant Change Technique” developed by Rick Davies. In four African countries (Senegal, Mali, Uganda, and Kenya) I undertook an evaluation which was tasked with developing a policy for international cultural problems.



[Figure: Rick Davies and Jessica Dart, The Most Significant Change Technique – A guide to its Use -- <http://www.mande.co.uk>]

Once you collect stories, you sort them out in the domains of change. That is, into the different types or levels of change that appear to be influenced by an initiative. While you can sort them out yourself (as a consultant, as an expert, or as an organisation), it is much more interesting to undertake this as a group of stakeholders. This is where you can start playing around and modifying your technique. For instance, you can gather people from different groups, if you are working at an inter-group level, and set them the task of analysing the stories of another group. After reading all the stories, they identify what was the most significant change for them, not for the person telling the original story. This becomes an opportunity to work with them to examine and understand what was that change about?

I undertook this kind of work in four countries in Africa,. We would gather together and follow one story after the next; story after story. The people themselves generated key words or tags. They would tag the story: this story is about personal development, that story is about advocacy. They would create it; I never put words in their mouths. They would give me all the vocabulary for the narrative of my report. I was just “stealing” their thinking - or harvesting, if you want.

I would use all the tags they had provided in order to prepare signs. When they came back after a break, we would place all these signs on a table. Their task would then be to put order to that chaos. They were required to discuss among themselves how to categorize these tags, and then label each specific category. It is a very chaotic and panicky moment, especially for the facilitator, because you can’t intervene. But at the same time you need to guide the people! For me, it was a very enlightening process. If I had to organise that information based on my own experience, it would have been completely different. There was a moment in Mali, for example, when I thought ‘we are lost here’! They were mixing up things that didn’t make any sense to me. I didn’t know how to help at all. Until I finally had an epiphany after two hours, when they explained to me: ‘this is mya. Of course this is mya’. – When I asked what this meant, they explained that Mya is highly sophisticated philosophical principle in Bandar culture - a beautiful idea that means that you do not become a person in that culture until you are able to embrace other persons within yourself. There, they believe that you are born as a vessel, and that you may reach the stage where you are able to bring other people into yourself, that is, the differences of other people into yourself. So, they were talking about it in terms of healing. I am mentioning it here because it seems to associate collective healing with embracing diversity and the other. It had to do with tolerance, integration, and inclusion.

Now, to return to the process of using the Most Significant Change Technique, once you have defined your domains of change, then you ask people to identify the stories they would place within each particular domain. You have to make sure that people understand that the most significant story may not be the “best” story. But they have to decide for themselves and explain why a particular story has been selected from all of the possible stories. It is a very creative moment where people really need to make their case for why it is most significant to them. While you are trying to reach consensus, you will not necessarily get there. That is the important part: you shouldn’t push it. You are not looking for a compromise. You are looking to stimulate the debate and discussion. It was somewhat different *in Senegal. There they were highly political, and kept going for consensus all the time because they thought that was what the donor wanted to hear. I kept telling them: ‘you are wasting your time! Just say what you really mean, that’s what they want to hear anyway.’*

The last stage of this process is to create a medium for feedback. There was one instance where all the stakeholders gathered together, and I managed to collect sufficient information to build a meta narrative. A meta narrative is what was most significant overall. For example they said things like, 'well this is more significant than this, because without this you can't cause this.' In other words, they were already talking in terms of cause and consequent effects. The other interesting thing was that they were already talking about their political strategies and instruments used to achieve those consequences. In the end, all of this helped me substantially to build my report. That feedback moment was essential because that was the moment of empowerment for people. They become pretty honest in the whole process.

I would also note very briefly, how you can play around with the Most Significant Change Technique. One of the innovations in the way we did it in this case, was that story selection and analysis took place not only in each of the four African countries, but also in the Netherlands with the funders. But, we gave the funders the domains of change created by the people in the field. They then had to put themselves in these people's shoes and were forced to try to think within the mindset of those communities on the ground. That particular innovation was really good and very positive. The distance between the funders and the communities was shortened. *Funders themselves needed to take seriously concepts such as 'mya'. They needed to communicate in these other languages now, because they realized that they didn't actually have equivalent words in their own language that would allow them to talk about these people's changes.* No-one knew what stories the other group was selecting. When we compared both analyses, we could see and gather very valuable information of the perception that each group of stakeholders had about change.

For you to understand how you aggregate complex experiences through this technique, I use the following metaphor. Your basic information is stored is storied in one bowl, which contains two oranges, three apples, four bananas, and one mango. Typically, an evaluation would do a summary by inclusion. So, the evaluator would conclude that there are ten pieces of fruit in the bowl. That's the way you aggregate because you can't total the details. The problem is that when you use the concept of "fruit" as your lowest common denominator, a lot of contextual information, which is really very relevant to meaning, is lost. Most Significant Change Technique shifts focus onto the process of selection. This generates a different kind of information about meaning, with different kinds of implications. Rather than a list of fruit, you might get more significant findings, like: the mango is rotten. It will spoil the rest of the fruit. Remove it please. And that is the type of recommendation you bring to your donors.

A very important recommendation of this workshop is that we challenge or question the meanings that we give to worlds, and that we change the root metaphors that guide evaluation. And, as evaluators then, sometimes we may serve as a gardener -- or as

a harvester – as we try to take out the weeds to get to the fruit. This is linked to what I told you just now. What we are often seeking through this process of guided discussion is meaning rather than “the” truth. There are as many truths as there are people. So what we are really looking for is meaning. The recommendation about metaphors, and the one about the search for meaning are two entries for this alternative dictionary for evaluation that we are now involved in creating.

Rick Davies: I am going to talk about the connection between stories and social networks as a way of thinking about the evaluation of the social impact of storytelling projects. Stories and networks are connected. Stories are about people, and their relationships, and what happens over a period of time. People and their relationships can also be described through the use of network diagrams. Behind this idea of social network diagrams is a whole body of ideas about social network analysis; how you describe social networks and how you analyse them, which I won’t go into, but my suggestion is this could be quite useful in thinking about identifying the social impact of storytelling processes.

The social impact of an intervention like a storytelling project might be visible during the event or after the event in terms of changes of who is interacting with whom. We’ve heard a number of anecdotes, of people talking to each other who had never talked to each other before. Or it might be evident in changes in how people interact with each other. I had an example from a refugee camp in Somalia many years ago where I heard about intermarriage taking place between the people in the refugee camp and the people outside the refugee camp. That was a major change because intermarriage is a real signifier of the state of a relationship between communities in many situations.

The other change is that there can be changes in the larger structure of relationships. If different people start talking to each other, and the nature of that relationship changes, the wider structure of relationships can change, and that can happen inside the groups during the intervention, and also with actors outside those groups. So people who are isolated now might be brought into a group or part of a group, or two separate groups might now be talking to each other that were not talking to each other before. Also, within a group, the level of interaction might increase substantially. They are structural changes: changes in who people interact with, changes in how they interact, and then the resulting changes in structure.

I thought it would be useful to talk about Chinese whispers. You can think of those as a very simple network, in a linear form: the person on the left talks to the next person and tells them a message, then they pass it onto the next, they pass it onto the next, they pass it onto the next. When we play the game of Chinese whispers we realise just how limited our influence is on other people. If I tell Claudia something, she tells

someone else something, and at the end of the line the message is completely different. That's a really important message to think about when we're talking about our ambitions to have a social impact with any process. The message I take out of this is: we should invest our evaluation effort in proportion to our likely influence. If I'm the person on the left, I should spend a lot of attention evaluating my impact on the person I am immediately in contact with, and a bit on the person they are in contact with, and a little bit on the person that they are in contact with, and very little further on, because that's in proportion to the likely impact.

The other lesson from Chinese whispers is: what if we put a feedback link in, whereby the third person told me the message that they'd got so I would pick up that Claudia actually hadn't got the message right. I could re-tell Claudia the story again, she'd pass it on and I'd get the feedback again this time and I'd confirm that's right, fine, go ahead. So we are creating more links in a social network. Connecting links in a social network can affect the sort of stories that pass through that network and the stability of those stories. There is a large and growing body of evidence of how people's position in networks affects their behaviour. Things like obesity spread and people become or don't become obese very much depending on the network connections around them. Smoking behaviour, HIV infections and so on all depend not just on people's knowledge, but on the networks that they are surrounded by. There is a huge amount of literature there worth thinking about.

So my advice is to think networks. When planning storytelling events, when we're thinking about the social impact objectives, think of them in terms of networks of actors and the relationships between them. When thinking about the selection of participants, think about what sort of networks they come from and what sort of networks they might go back to, and what the implications are thereof. Also, when it comes to evaluating this social impact of storytelling events, we need to think about what actors to talk to about, what kinds of changes in relationships, and how information could be collected about these changes. There is a very interesting anecdote about how, during one storytelling event, people started exchanging mobile phone numbers. So conceivably, one could go and talk to people at a later date and ask, how many of the people that took part in an event do you still have the mobile numbers of and have you contacted them recently.

On a more mundane level we can also think about asking people at the beginning of a workshop who they have met and worked with before and at the end of the workshop who they plan to talk to later on, and look at the difference between those. We could follow up later on the basis of that information to see whether those new contacts were actually realised or not.

It is my crude theory of change; it is about what you are trying to do based on this two days' experience. When you are doing a storytelling event, you are setting up a little microcosm, a little social structure, which you have an enormous amount of knowledge about how to do well. There has been a lot of discussion about appropriate settings and appropriate facilitation, and so, when you change the structure in a small setting for a small period of time, with a view to changing the storytelling process, the telling of stories happens in a different way than what would normally happen. And your expectation is, as a result of those new storytelling processes, that this will have a social impact; it will impact back on the social structures, the social networks of which they are a part. My impression is that while you have got to articulate that idea of how to change the structures in a microcosm in order to affect the way people tell the stories, your conceptualisation of how (when people leave that process and go back) that will affect those social networks is less well articulated. I think it's well within reach; it is something that could be done.



Workshop Participant: On the subject of networks, I always liked Jean Paul Lederach's description of this kind of work as weaving webs of relationships, and he talked about us being web-wavers. It fits in with that idea of networks.

Workshop Participant: Also on the issue of networks, one of the things I really like about what you were saying is that it makes the networks very transparent. This allows us to see when networks are becoming cliques. This is a concern which is often expressed when people talk about the peace industry in Northern Ireland. At the last Irish Peace Centres conference ("Pride and Prejudice," March 2010), concern was expressed that the same group of people often end up being in the same room, at the same conferences. Increased transparency about the types of social networks we work within opens up the opportunity of recognizing when we are becoming a little bit too

homogenous. We could then perhaps open it up; make decisions about inviting the participation of groups who are not represented. That would be very good

Workshop Participant: Claudia, I noticed that when you described how you used the Most Significant Change Technique, you said that your interviews begin by asking the question: tell me a story about the most significant change.' This is a very different question from, say: 'tell me about the impact of the project.' Are you asking that person to create a story in order to describe the significant change, or is it just a form of words that you use?

Claudia Fontes: I think you've raised a great point. I think the word story puts people in the mood. It opens up a space to share. Otherwise it would be like being interrogated. You also can play around with the settings, so that those stories can be more easily raised - a little bit like what Paul is doing with art in the Butterfly Peace Garden. You can also look for places, public spaces, where storytelling naturally flourishes. *There was a great example in my discussion group of a domestic violence programme in the US. They didn't know how to collect information on the prevalence of this problem, as housewives were really scared of telling what was going on with them. So they came up with the idea of involving hairdressers,* since they came in contact with these women and their stories every day. People would tell their stories only through their hairdressers. I thought that was a brilliant idea, because it built on, and supported, that existing social relationship, and used it creatively for an important project. In a completely different context, in Uganda, it was the bon fire that served as the rallying point of social interaction. Everyone gathers around a bonfire, where they often make something with their hands. This environment, in that context, opens up people to tell stories very easily and naturally.

Workshop Participant: When you were talking about selecting the most significant story, it struck me that you are working with a group of people that are coming with a single identity. Is that right? How would you work within divided groups where stories are contested? How do those whose story hasn't been selected feel? Does that cause problems?

Claudia Fontes: Well, yes, it does cause problems all the time, because there is not agreement on what is the most significant story. They may not agree with others' assessment of significance. This is particularly evident in the feedback sessions. To tell you the truth there were stories I collected which weren't very interesting. They weren't engaged in the process - maybe out of 95, there were three. All the rest were very active. In Kenya, for instance, there was this one story that stood out. Even before starting the whole process, the people gathered to tell me that they already knew which was the most significant story - regardless of the domain. They were all laughing, saying 'yeah Raphael's story is great.' But when they started listening to

each other, one of them shifted and said ‘Actually, no, because I found this, this, and that.’ When they discussed this together, they realised that Raphael’s wasn’t the most significant story at all. In the end, they left it out. Out of all that discussion, an amazing, important, thing came out about how they perceive art. For the feedback workshops, I invited them and Raphael, the author of the story, to come. He understood it perfectly. It was a very enlightening process for him.

Judith Thompson: As I listened to Claudia, I asked myself, “what was the most significant story for me at this workshop?” It was a very difficult question because there have been so many significant things. I think it’s been a marvellous experience, and I am grateful to the organisers for organizing it, and inviting me.

However, if I was to choose: the most significant thing for me was the externalising, if you will, of some of our implicit assumptions -- particularly as this relates to theories of change., and the implications of the idea of changing our language, and changing our metaphors.

But there was also Paddy’s personal exhilaration when highlighting the concept of beauty in our work. This makes me overjoyed. I think that considering beauty and bringing the aesthetic metaphor into the work is perhaps the best description of what this work is really about. However, here is the problem: the frameworks and paradigms that shape our thinking about, and approaches to evaluation has not yet fully taken this on board. While, collaboration with the arts is helping to make this shift happen, the standard approaches to quantitative measurement and the guiding frameworks of theories of change don’t lead to an appreciation of the individual, the relational, and the realm of beauty.

I would love to continue to unpack a little more what this really means. I’ve said it on couple of occasions to a variety of people around the table that for me personally, it is traced back to unconscious yet inherent masculinities and femininities, in terms of the way the work is structured and conceived. There are some sensibilities in feminist thinking and feminine ways that are so well aligned to storytelling processes because of their nature of working with personal, relational transformation, the emotional realm, the affective realm, of which I think there has been a fear of treading into on some occasions and not for bad reasons necessarily.

I think what has happened here is that there has been a kind of contagious awareness of this, and of what I hope is, instead of a fear to tread, a kind of invitation to considering as Jean Paul Lederach would say, of seeing our work less as a bunch of techniques in our briefcase and more akin got the creative act. That brings in multiple possibilities of the way we think and design. It puts us on an edge that makes us uncomfortable in the realm of evaluation, which is trying to account for, or measure,

things that are immeasurable. It is that kind of magical moment when personal transformation takes place. As a practitioner you can say, “that was it.” But as an evaluator, when we try to measure it, the process begins to be incompatible.

The tools that we’ve learned about here at the workshop move us in the right direction: these thicker, descriptive, ways of looking at how to draw out the significance, the meaning, of what matters to people the most. I don’t know if this was a shift, or if it was simply an uncovering of something. But it has been refreshing, and holds a great deal of promise for what we can do in terms of storytelling and evaluation.

Paul Hogan: This has been a very important occasion for me personally because I have been living a long time deep down in the bottom of sea of stories in Sri Lanka. But it is also a kind of a grieving for me because I think I lived by the stories that these children told. These are stories of great courage and imagination that grow from an environment of silencing. The children and their stories fed my soul. It was deeply, deeply hurtful for me to be exiled from my home and life there.

I started to write about it as a way of making the transition into another world. But I don’t know how to write. I don’t know how to tell a story. *What I soon learned is that when someone tells you story and you try to write it down, it is a different thing completely. A story has to live on the page. But in the process of bringing it to life on that page, the story may change, so that it is not the same story anymore. But the story may be no less authentic.* This is what I have learned as I tried to capture the spirit of these stories in a manuscript entitled, Telling Eastern Tales: Voices and Ventriloquism from the Butterfly Garden of Batticaloa.

The writing of these stories went through many stages. It began two or three years before I had to leave Sri Lanka. I asked some of the senior animators from the Garden to go into the villages and rural areas to find kids that had participated in the Butterfly Peace Garden over the years - from the very beginning, even before it was open. I asked them to find out where they were ten or more years after the programme, and to see what had happened to them. In the telling of their stories, they described how the Garden had affected them; how it had shaped their lives. We collected these stories, but I would not call it a most significant change approach. I simply drafted a list of questions, with Ken Bush’s help, to guide the conversations. We didn’t have a rigid methodology, other than one which sought to collect stories from these young people – in whatever forms they came in. The five or six story collectors were animators who had worked with me for a long time; they knew all the kids and their villages and their families. When they returned from the first round of conversations, they brought back a list of horrors: “this happened, then that happened, and then that happened.” There was no probing or exploration really about the effects the

Gardens may have had on mitigating the disruption or on healing and moving on. So actually, they had to go back many times to understand the stories. The animator, who was best in this process, was a woman who is actually known as a gossip. She really knew how to get the stories!

Claudia Fontes and Judith Thompson: They are valuable, those people!

Paul Hogan: She knew everybody's story anyway! Her husband was killed by government-related forces, and then her son joined the rebels to avenge his father's death and was never seen again. Then, her youngest son was abducted by a splinter paramilitary group. And she dealt with all of those situations herself, directly. She just went right in and confronted those people and worked her way through all these things. She was a very tough person. And because of this, she sympathised with the women who lost family members. Many times she was able to go very deeply into sensitive places where people knew her.

Anyway, I had lived by these stories myself. They nourished me. *The imaginative stories of the children were healing for me, somehow. They embraced all of this experience which is very tragic and dark. But if you read the stories, they are black humour; they are very, very funny. Yet, the characters are all animals. It is a fabulous thing. Then those stories would be enacted in theatre. And through this process, they were healing themselves. They were their own physicians and surgeons and psychologists.* In the Garden, you will find the animators; you will find the administrators; and you will sometimes find funders and foreign experts. But, it is the children who are the healers. The children are the healers of the adult animators - and hopefully the funders. But I don't know if we're actually having those impacts yet! But I have seen when representatives from HIVOS, one of our funders, came into the garden; they were very moved by the theatre and the stories of the children themselves. These are healing stories. And they were completely fabulous, ridiculous, dark, funny and beautiful stories.

So beauty and humour were very transformative in the innocence and purity of the children. Yet, they see everything. They see everything that the people are doing; and they see the contradictions in their behaviours. And all of it - what they say and what they do - comes out in the animals. Most of them are tremendously hypocritical. That is part of the humour of it.

Of these 25 stories that have been collected in Telling Eastern Tales, each one was radically re-written at least five times, as I searched for the right voice, the right tone, the right "story" that was both authentic and true, even as a fish or dog or crow may talk and engage with a child in the story in fantastical ways. This writing, and coming here to Northern Ireland, is kind of redemptive for me. I'm surfacing into a world of

completely different stories; stories that are very analytical and cerebral. It's a very different space than hanging out in the garden, where, for example, the story may grow from a particular problem involving particular ducks who are always trying to have sexual intercourse with a particular rooster. And all of this fantastic detail and very elaborate plots spill out from the children -- which I find fascinating. When I come into this dialogue or discourse, it's very foreign for me. I think what you are trying to do is find bridges, or ways of talking with people who have been oppressed by us for so long. But you are using different story-based tools. So, for example, for us, toys are very important because they allow us to engage on the same level; they allow us into the same space, where we can play and exchange what it is that makes us human. Let us exchange our mythologies; let us exchange our stories; this seems to be a more humane way of doing it. Personally, I would like to learn more about most significant change. It's very humanistic. I think it's going to help me to analyse and understand the experiences I've had over the last 15 years and hopefully to help me to be better able to share them.

I was looking at the literature and information that Maureen Hetherington passed on to me about the work of the Junction, and was struck by how interactive you are here with the whole very complex situation. My family goes back six generations and they have always intermarried with Irish families. I had never been to Ireland. But I realize now how very important it was for me to come here. I think there are two reasons: first, it has allowed my ancient Irish past to catch up to my present; and second, coming here has allowed me to link the experiences I've had for so many years with children in Sri Lanka, the work of so many of you here in Northern Ireland. For this, I am so very grateful. I hope I can learn and use some of these techniques of evaluation of sharing stories and that it will benefit the people with whom I have worked in the past, and others with whom I will work in the future.

Wilhelm Verwoerd: I feel reticent to speak after hearing the way Paul introduced his comments. They were not analytical, reflective, comments. They were the sharing of a story in which I could feel there was a real depth. And yet there was just so much you could feel that he didn't say. You almost feel reluctant to speak after that. You feel reluctant to introduce comments which have more of an analytical feel to them, because they don't feel like they actually fit together. However, this is exactly what we are trying to do in this workshop! So it is happening in the moment, as it often happens in these things; it was just special.

I'm really appreciating the comments and the emphasis not only on beauty, but on humour. In my previous life in philosophy I did a thesis on humour and suffering. But I've never been able to communicate to people (who say) 'why did you do that? You're such a strange person!' There is something very deep about that connection between humour and suffering. That is just a little personal anecdote, but it does resonate I suppose with what we've already said.

What I'm sensing here is that there is an element of trauma in what you are sharing. I don't use that word easily, but it's actually a word that hasn't been used a lot in our conversations. There has been a reluctance to describe what we do as therapy. But in the process, I think there is a danger of actually saying there is a real issue around trauma and therapeutic dimensions to do this work. This is why there is this need to take off your shoes when you are entering into people's lives and when they are talking about deep, deep, deep issues which in some ways, again, were happening in the moment. I think we need to flag that up as a major challenge and a major theme and we probably didn't give enough time and energy to it. There is a real tension there; especially when you talk about evaluating something where there is an element of deep careful sensitive responses or creative responses to trauma within people, between people, between groups, and between organisations at all those different levels.

We've heard about the language of storytelling, the language of evaluation, I appreciate that emphasis on the importance of language. We talked a bit about the ethics, the importance of a code, of a much stronger and more robust widely-shared code of ethics and standards. We talked about the aesthetics, the beauty; but there is also the politics, and I'll just finish with a few points about that because in some ways again that might be a bit of a silence. There were a few moments in the workshop where I felt there were some silences after some inputs, and I am intrigued by that.

Let me just make one or two comments about power. I mean the power of storytelling. Whenever we talk about storytelling what I remember personally is the way I grew up with stories about the Anglo Boer war in South Africa - when we only heard the stories about the women and the children in my community who died in the concentration camps. It was only much later that I heard the stories about black South Africans who also died in those concentration camps. That always stays with me. It stays with me as a real caution and almost - I don't know if "fear" is the right word. It reminds me to remember the destructive power of stories, and their ability to blind and divide and traumatise people. We became blind - my community, my family - to what we were doing to black South Africans, because we were so focused on the stories about the suffering with my own family and community. We haven't spoken a lot about that, but I think there's a real dark side to stories and the power of storytelling.

Then there is, of course, power within a storytelling process, and the most significant choice. Some of this, I would be quite uncomfortable with, in the sense that often within the groups with whom we work, there are hierarchies of victimhood; hierarchies of what people represent; and hierarchies of what is deemed to be really important and significant. I don't know how we can find the language in evaluation to look at that, but if we don't, we can feed into that politics and dynamics and

silences and power within and between groups coming out of conflict. This is a huge challenge. How do we manage this within an evaluation? How do we manage those kinds of questions, which could be associated with hierarchy, significance, dominance, all of that; how do we manage that tension?

The third point is the power between organisations and people doing storytelling. It is just one of those challenges. We talk about practical next steps; we talk about practitioners coming together and sharing reflective space; we talk about codes of ethics. But there are politics around all of that; and there are politics between organisations and between people and power. How are we going to be open and honest about that, so that we don't allow that elephant in the room to undermine the sustainability of what we agree on as next steps? So perhaps I will just leave us with that small challenge at the end.

The last comment is something which really struck me; the emphasis on children. People talk about the vital importance of not losing your childlikeness, of not becoming children, but becoming like children. There is something about that ability to move from childhood to a stage where you question everything, to a second inner sense, a second childlikeness, a simplicity beyond complexity. I think that is the risk associated with storytelling; that for it to be done well, you need to be in the realm of simplicity beyond complexity. Because it is so deceptively simple, sometimes people enter the process and end up damaging and scorching people. People are hurt in the process. We need a way to work through the deceptive simplicity, through the complexity which I think came out a little bit in this process, so that we can be journeying together towards this second innocence, the simplicity beyond complexity, that will allow us to really contribute in small steps towards the healing of relationships broken and destroyed by violent conflict.



Conclusions: —————

Kenneth Bush, INCORE

What we have learned about Storytelling

On Story, Culture, and Evaluation

As Paddy Logue noted in his introduction, the American anthropologist, Clifford Geertz (1973), tells us that culture is that set of stories that we tell ourselves about ourselves. As such, stories in the broadest and most diverse variety of forms, are the basic building blocks for cultures of peace, no less than for cultures of conflict. Such stories, however, do not exist independently of the social environment within which they are generated, Stories support, and are supported by, social, political and economic structures and processes that constitute the foundation for an individual and collective sense of identity. This is what imbues them with such great potential to contribute to peace and reconciliation or violence and devastation.

One of the motivations for holding this workshop was the sense of discomfort which frequently arose as we encountered the many projects and programmes in Northern Ireland and internationally which claimed to successfully employ storytelling methods in their work. We were struck by the diversity of the impacts – socially constructive and destructive – that were evident anecdotally in these initiatives. At the same time, we were struck by the fact that very few of these initiatives were ever evaluated, and that, in fact, there was no readily apparent means of evaluating them, even if the interest and opportunity was present. The concept note included in the Appendix sketches out some of our initial thoughts. This workshop was an effort to move beyond the anecdotal, towards a more systematic approach to analyzing and employing storytelling, and story creation, in peace-building initiatives. By bringing together an exceptional collection of participants, the workshop was a first step in developing a critical analytical lens for understanding and evaluating the connections between storytelling/ story creation, peace-building, and reconciliation. This final section of this report offers some reflections on what was learned in the workshop on the modalities of storytelling (how it works), the connections between storytelling and Peace-building/ conflict maintenance (impacts), and how we evaluate it (assessment).

The Mechanics of Storytelling

At the workshop, a participant offered a list a some of the many motives for getting involved in storytelling initiatives: a search for justice; keeping memory alive (as an end in itself, and as a spur to eventual justice; as part of a very personal therapeutic process of “healing”; public acknowledgement of what happened in the past; a form

of commemoration or memorialization; an effort to challenge (or reinforce/legitimate) the dominant or a competing story in the market place of stories.

In each of the motives on this list, the societal impacts of storytelling are intimately connected to story listening. Yet, at the beginning of this workshop we were very much focused on “the story” and the “telling” of that story. However, I believe that we have now broadened our perspective to recognize more explicitly that, in terms of the mechanics of storytelling impact, much more attention must be paid the audience – and the impact of hearing that story on the sense of self, and other. A host of questions arose over the course of the workshop. Is the audience one’s own tribe or community? Is the audience the nebulous “other”? The opponent? The oppressor? The media? The international support constituency? Who is the audience? And how does story affect the complex relationships between the teller and the broad spectrum of audiences (and sub-audiences within those audiences)? When and how does storytelling cement victimhood and division? And when and how does it transform victimhood to empowerment? Alas, this workshop did not provide comprehensive answers to these questions. However, there is no doubt now, that these are the right questions. And unless we focus on the right questions, it doesn’t matter how erudite or comprehensive the answer is. One of the important contributions of this workshop is the development of the “right” set of questions to guide us through the field of the evaluation of the peace- building impacts of storytelling.

Story Creation and Biographical Storytelling

One of the important issues that arose during the workshop concerned the distinctions between storytelling and story creation. Arts-based story creation works differently from biographical storytelling. That was something that was not adequately recognized before the workshop. This is an important issue to be explored – which was reinforced by the particular projects presented and discussed over the last couple of days. Much more work needs to be done: to understand how and why these are different, and; to understand what difference these differences make in terms of peace-building and reconciliation efficacy.

Something about Beauty

Paddy Logue spoke for a large number of participants when he said: “I have never, ever, heard the word beauty used before in this work! The unashamed assertion of beauty, vis-a-vis destructiveness or destruction, is a powerful image for us.” In the workshop, this was nowhere better illustrated than in the work of the Butterfly Garden in Sri Lanka. In that case, we heard of the ways in which it was the loss of beauty –

the loss of the ability to see it or experience it – which was as devastating as the civil war. We heard how the myriad forms of story creation occurred in the midst of destruction, and how the kids' encounter with their own originality within serially-produced violence, created forms of beauty which could begin to re-weave the shredded souls of individuals, and importantly for the purposes of this workshop, the shredded fabric of society. This occurs in a variety of ways: with the kids themselves being the seeds of change within their communities; the strong cross-community personal relationships following the programmes; and the engagement of all communities in the programmes of the Butterfly Garden through the very public theatre productions.

The images from the Butterfly Garden radiate beauty. Even here in Derry, 6,000 miles from Batticaloa, exposure to such beauty stops us in our tracks by virtue of its incongruity and sheer audacity. How could such overwhelming beauty be cultivated within a place of such violence? If this is our reaction from such a distance, one can only imagine its impact on those kids from which it came, and the communities within which it is sown.

But it is not enough to imagine impact. Our challenge is to figure out how to see such impacts, to understand how this works, to figure out how to evaluate it, and to learn from it.

Storytelling: trust within a context of risk

An issue which threaded its way through workshop discussion was the importance of the immediate environment within which storytelling-as-peace-building takes place – whether the stories are autobiographical, fictional or fantastical. Each of the storytelling initiatives presented here took place within teller-listener environments characterized by a mixture of trust among those involved, security (emotionally, psychologically, and physically), and risk. Here, risk refers to a sense that the telling of a story is likely to affect the way others see the teller, and as importantly, the way the teller sees him/her self.

In the Sustainable Peace Network project, we see that this element of risk may facilitate the process in various ways. In that project, participants (including those from former security forces and divided communities), are placed into wilderness settings where they are well outside “their comfort zone.” This very particular set of risks (associated with surviving in the wilderness) is carefully built into the project. The individual experience of physical risk comes to be shared collectively, thus creating the need for a level of collaboration that builds the environment of trust necessary for the negotiation of other forms of risk associated with the telling of, and empathetic listening to, autobiographical story. In this case, the successful

management of physical risks seems to help create an environment where the other risks associated with storytelling might also be managed. It should be noted that the other initiatives presented in the workshop also contained different kinds of controlled risk – whether this is the sense of fear over a theatrical performance in a public space imbued with the legacy of conflict and separation, or whether it is the management of peer pressure in more private venues of risk that open up between young people in the Children of War initiatives. In all of these cases, the sense of risk seems to have a catalytic effect on the impact of story in both teller and audience when undertaken within an environment of trust. And in all of these cases, the combination of risk and vulnerabilities underscore the need for careful, ethically sensitive, approaches.

Time: Story Throwing and Story Growing

There is a risk that short-term encounters within a storytelling context may have harmful impacts. The lack of time – aside from the absence of other ingredients that might be necessary for effective initiatives – carries the danger that stories may be heard out of context, or without an empathetic ear, or in a depersonalized way. Short-term or one-off encounters may lack the time necessary to build the foundation of trust required for growing positive inter-group relationships. However, a related time dimension was raised in the workshop: time is needed for a story to develop and evolve. As Alistair Little put it: *“people’s stories begin where they are, not where you might wish them to be.”* Specifically, this includes individuals who would not choose to participate in “storytelling” events. This means that initial stories may be divisive and alienating. This was described as the “rhetoric phase” of the process. This initial story is not the final story. In this context, the importance of storytelling is not in the story per se, but in the evolution of that story over time. Just as there is a danger that a group or society may become imprisoned by a single and unchanging story, so it is with the individual. The recognition that other stories co-exist and indeed, interact with, “one’s own” story is essential for an individual to be able to explore the variability of his or her own story, and its relationship to the teller and others.

Peace-building Impact at Societal Levels is contingent on impact on Individuals

The peace-building impacts of storytelling at inter-group and societal levels hinge on the transformational impact of storytelling initiatives at the personal level. When INCORE and the Irish Peace Centres were defining the parameters of this workshop, we made the decision to focus on the inter group and the societal levels of impact. The rationale for this decision was based on the observation that most of the work that has been done in this field has focused on impacts on individuals – often framed as “therapeutic” impact. While I think we have succeeded in sustaining a multi-leveled focus at the workshop, it is also clear that positive impact at the inter- group and

societal level is contingent on the positive transformational impact within teller and listener. This observation underscores the importance of examining and better understanding the dynamics and process by which impacts radiate from individuals to groups to society, and back. At the moment it is marginally easier to identify impact on individuals. But with practice and the fashioning of appropriate tools, we should be better able to assess wider levels of impact. But this will not occur spontaneously. And it will be a central focus in subsequent stages of this IPC-INCORE project.

What we have learned about the Evaluation of Storytelling

Can the Science - and Politics - of Evaluation Capture the Art of Storytelling?

As noted above, despite the variety of storytelling forms and projects (see for example the list presented in HTR 2005), they are not generally evaluated by funders. One of the observations that have been confirmed in this workshop is that evaluation tools generally speaking are not suited to the task. However, as we have seen in the work of Claudia Fontes and Rick Davies, there are some tools, such as Davies' "Most Significant Change" technique, that may be creatively refashioned and employed in ways that begin to tease out the subtle influences and impacts storytelling, and arts-based, initiatives as peace-building initiatives.

Yet, aside from the technical obstacles, we have also heard in the workshop that standard evaluation generates fear rather than confidence and capacity. In perception as well as in practice, evaluations are often treated as bean-counting audits undertaken by outsiders with big sticks. Consequently, evaluations are seen in many cases as a form of control or as Paul Hogan put it, a form of colonialism or imperialism. This, of course, contrasts with the idea of developing a more healthy culture of evaluation from within an organisation itself. *The tension between evaluation as a tool for control on one hand, and a tool for learning on the other, opens up the question of the multiple needs and interests that drive evaluation:* the needs of funder commissioning an evaluation; the needs of the organisation upon which the evaluation is carried out, the needs of the governments and policy makers which often support the funders; the needs of development workers in the field and the practitioners, and last, and usually least, the communities within which the initiatives being evaluated are set.

During the workshop, someone asked: "can the science of evaluation meaningfully engage the art of storytelling?" But I think a slightly revised version of the question gets closer to what the workshop is wrestling with here: "can the science and politics

of evaluation meaningfully engage the art of storytelling?” Here, “politics” is used to refer competing interests and ways in which evaluation has been used as a means by which external control is exercised over a project.

In the absence of “good” evaluation, we risk losing the experience, knowledge, and lessons that can inform best practice in peace-building and reconciliation. Or worse, we risk perpetuating practices which have harmful impacts at individual, inter-personal, inter-group, and societal levels. Here, we need to emphasize that it is not sufficient to do “good” evaluations that inform decisions about what to continue doing, what to stop doing, and what to start doing. Additionally, the lessons of these storytelling-as-peace-building initiatives (whether culled from evaluations or other forms of communication) need to be shared and disseminated. Otherwise, we lose this body of knowledge about both how to do storytelling initiatives, and how to evaluate them.

Attributes of the Evaluator of Storytelling-as-Peace-building Initiatives

In order to “capture” the dynamics and impacts of storytelling initiatives, there is a need to develop new kinds of evaluators and new kinds of approaches to evaluation. Part of the workshop was designed to facilitate “evaluative conversations” between evaluators and practitioners. We were very fortunate to have evaluators who were intellectually and professionally engaged in the core issues of this workshop. However, they represent important exceptions to mainstream evaluation. One of the processes that was initiated here was the search for a common language for the evaluation of storytelling-as-peace-building. The mechanistic language and logic of mainstream evaluation seems to miss as much as it measures. Though as we see in some of the work of Rick Davies and others (such as the Asian Development Bank), there are efforts to use storytelling as an innovative element in conventional evaluations of projects or programmes. And, we saw in Claudia Fontes’ use of Most Significant Change technique, there are innovative possibilities for teasing out the social impacts of creative arts initiatives. Yet, at the same time, many (if not most) storytelling initiatives are conspicuously resistant to the idea of systematic assessment.

Whatever lingua franca develops to enable the storytelling project managers to communicate with evaluators, it must generate evaluations that serve the different needs and interests of all stakeholders.

In addition to the need for different language, there was seen to be a need for a different kind of evaluator for the storytelling-as-peace-building projects. The long-term nature of these projects, combined with variety and subtlety of impacts, led to the call for an “ethnographic evaluator”: someone who was able to sustain a long-

term, longitudinal focus and engagement in the project being evaluated; someone who could analyze and experience the project as a participant-observer from both the outside-in and the inside-out; someone who was “embedded” in the project. Yet, because of the nature of projects being evaluated, that person would need to have a “creative and playful disposition.” Drawing on the case of the Butterfly Peace Garden, where story creation was a central form of storytelling, there was a suggestion that *the perfect evaluator would be an amalgam: an artist-clown- mythologist-methodologist-ethnographic evaluator*. It would be someone with the specific skill-set that enables probing into the various levels and dimensions of that project at the aesthetic level and at the individual, group, and societal levels.

Reframing Evaluation

Changing the root metaphors could help to cultivate more appropriate methodologies for storytelling evaluation. Again, there were many observations that peace ‘building’ is a very mechanistic metaphor that draws us towards engineering analysis, and engineering responses. However, if the role of the evaluator is reframed as a gardener, or a harvester, or a mid-wife, then our understanding of his/her role and functions changes – and more importantly, it changes the way that that individual undertakes evaluation. This is not simply a linguistic trick of searching and replacing words; it has a ripple effect on the way we understand and undertake evaluations.

Theories of Change

To evaluate the impacts of storytelling projects in violently divided societies, we need to consider the often implicit ‘theories of change’ embedded in them. That is, how do we think storytelling works in terms of affecting the perceptions and actions of individuals and groups (which are subsequently translated into the structure and content of policies and institutions)? These questions need to be engaged while we remain attentive to the possibility that storytelling may have negative, as well as positive, impacts.

When we survey relevant examples, we begin to discern a number of theories of change related to how storytelling may have positive impacts through individuals into the societal level. As Wilhelm Verwoerd noted in his presentation, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, was premised on the belief that the public telling of the “truth” of Apartheid era abuses would have a positive cathartic effect on society. This was seen to be essential for the building of a new, inclusive, and just society. A number of features of the TRC can be seen to have been tied implicitly to a broad theory of change, namely: the very “publicness” of the process; the fact that the stories of individual’s experiences could be told in their local languages; the

fact that the TRC was happening under the auspices of the state (in contrast to the suppression of the previous regime); the confessional character of the exercise whereby victims and perpetrators told their stories. (The latter group encouraged by the fact that those who voluntarily told their story were more likely to receive leniency or amnesty in a court of law.) *The underpinning theory of change in the TRC seems to be related to what Samuel Johnson once called “the stability of Truth” even “as it recognizes the destabilizing nature of its own operations and enquiries”* (Heaney 1995).¹

Other theories of change embedded in storytelling initiatives would include the following.

- The creation of a more commonly accepted understanding of the past as the foundation for moving collectively into the future
- the increase in the sense of collective empathy for the experiences and decisions of individuals and groups involved in, and affected by, violent conflict
- The empowering impact on individuals and groups when they realize that they are the authors of their own lives, and not simply bit players in someone else’s story
- The personal liberation when someone realizes that their individual story (for example of fear, abuse, or injustice) is, in fact, a collective story, and that its telling is intimately related to the re-finding of one’s self, and the re-defining of one’s place in society; and
- The imagining of alternative futures and the consequent possibilities that are created when people find the courage to “speak over” and to “interrupt” the dominant stories that limit the social imagination.

The list above is clearly not exhaustive. It is intended simply to remind us that there is a need to be explicit about theories of changes within storytelling work. Further, the identification of the underpinning theory of change is also an important marker for an evaluator to assess an initiative because it generates “clues” about where to look for outcomes, impacts or influences; and what to look for - changed attitudes, changed behaviours, different types of contact, the development of shared narratives, policy responses? Here, it should be noted that multi-method evaluations would help to tease out the variety of impacts, and would serve the multiple needs of funders, practitioners, and the broadest spectrum of stakeholders.

Measuring Catalytic Impacts and Long-Term Impacts

By definition, a catalyst is an agent enables something to happen, but does not leave any residue or “finger prints” on the process. If storytelling is catalytic process, then, we are confronted with the challenge of how to identify and measure it. The immediate results or outputs of a storytelling initiative are one thing, but where it

might lead is quite another. As a participant put it: “We don’t want people to come into a space and feel they have to walk into the sunset holding hands at the end because that is not the way these things actually work.” And, of course, some impacts take a long, long time to become apparent. Consequently, evaluation must appreciate the complexity, ambiguity, variability, and time-dependency of storytelling. It must also appreciate “backsliding” -- the possibility that events external to an initiative might account for failures or setbacks in apparent progress. That is, the impacts of a project are not cast in stone and unchanging. Both at the level of the individual and the level of society, progress follows a process of two steps forward and one step back. Thus for example, the anniversary of a death or a massacre may set individuals and groups back. The implications for evaluation is that we need to be able to do more than assess snap shot or episodic moments. The challenge is to evaluate a journey. For this, you need the ability to appreciate how people (individually and collectively) change over time on their journey.

Humility and Attribution

People don’t live within a project. They live within a complex and fluid life. A project – whether a storytelling project or some other kind – may make a contribution to change within a person’s life, but it cannot take full credit.

What Next?

One of the motivations for holding this workshop was the sense of discomfort which frequently arose as we encountered the many projects and programmes in Northern Ireland and internationally which claimed to successfully employ storytelling methods in their work. We were struck by the diversity of the impacts – socially constructive and destructive – that were evident anecdotally in these initiatives. At the same time, we were struck by the fact that very few of these initiatives were ever evaluated. Further, there is no readily apparent means of evaluating them adequately, even if the interest and opportunity was present. In Northern Ireland alone, this is the case despite the investment of tens of millions of euros into such projects within the EU PEACE III programme. The same situation applies in other cases.

This workshop was a modest effort to move beyond the anecdotal, towards a more systematic approach to analyzing and employing storytelling, and story creation, in peace-building initiatives. By bringing together an exceptional collection of participants, the workshop was a first step in developing a critical analytical lens for understanding and evaluating the connections between storytelling/ story creation, peace-building, and reconciliation.

Workshop participants argued that there needs to be a clear and systematic scoping exercise of the way in which story is employed formally and informally in conflict and post-conflict settings. This would include: a critical discussion of the types of storytelling initiatives (structure, process, objectives, sustainability); their stated purpose(s); the context in which they are initiated; their implicit or explicit theories of change; the dynamics underpinning the initiative; the definition and recruitment of participants and target audiences; systems of monitoring and evaluation; and so on. Importantly, this would not be a descriptive listing of initiatives, but an analytical engagement with partners about their work. The potential contributions of such a study would be both practical/ operational as well as theoretical/ conceptual.

One of the messages from the workshop is that this process cannot be limited to the descriptive listing of self-described “storytelling” events. Indeed, concern was expressed about what was called by one participant, “the dark side of storytelling” - by which was meant, the profound damage that can be done through the clumsy use of storytelling in the delicate lives of people; the ways in which it can be used to reinforce the sense of collective victimhood and siege; and finally, the ways in which the introduction of funding into the voluntary sector can create economic incentive structures that do not necessarily benefit individuals or communities in violently divided societies -- and which may actually cause harm.

In our next phase, we will explore a broader range of storytelling/ story creation initiatives (possibly including film, theatre, popular culture, music, and graffiti) in Northern Ireland and internationally, along side a more intensive examination of evaluation tools and methodologies. This next phase will continue to seek answers to the unaddressed questions in so many “storytelling initiatives”: how do you know an initiative is having a positive peace-building impact (broadly defined), rather than a conflict-sustaining impact and; what evaluative tools and approaches are best suited.



Appendix 1: Reflection notes from Small Discussion Groups

Discussion 1: “Personal Change” in storytelling processes Group 1

What do we mean by storytelling?

1st Example of the work the group is involved in:

- The Rural College & Derrynoid Centre programme, ‘Our Story Our Peace’: equipping community workers and activists/ regular people with creative tools to help people to talk to each other. They use professional storytellers/ writers- to describe the art of storytelling; then use own expertise to create a triangle: storytelling- peace-building- community work: How can we use creative means to help us talk to each other?
- Facilitation work - participants learn facilitation skills to become more creative around facilitation
- Getting involved in a project within one’s own community- using storytelling to create a change in a local context and finding a way to record the project; the community takes ownership to do so.

What is the methodology? Using storytelling in traditional, dialogue sense. Storytellers teach how to think about what is involved in telling a story so people hear and understand; what’s involved in listening to a story. It is not about bringing extremeopposing people together; it is about asking an ordinary person if they want to contribute to peace building within their own community, and providing them with small steps to create impact.

Participants learn: Ethics of storytelling and facilitative techniques through experiential learning. It is a self awareness process – you need to tell your own story, understand your triggers and your situation.

There is no right/wrong way to tell a story - but here are principles to adhere to. You have to be prepared for the story that emerges. But storytelling is not just about the conflict - it is about the ordinary, everyday life. There is a general acknowledgement that we were all affected, but some more than others. All the ‘ordinary’ took place within a conflict situation. It doesn’t matter what your life experience is, it is all valid.

2nd example of a storytelling project:

- Smashing Times: it is about a final performance; one story may not be dramatic in terms of theatre performance.
- Use of games and exercises to engage groups.
- Story can be adapted to make it performance ready - creativity is involved
- People have to work together to make performance happen, to share stories and collaborate.
- Dips into prejudices to make story entertaining – then asks the audience to discuss.
- The point is to step into the other's shoes; and the audience interacts with the actors afterwards.
- Understanding is gained by people working together to generate a collaborative piece; to dispel myths; acknowledge differences; address silence; celebrate culture; and give an insight into how the other lives.
- What motivates people to get involved? They are interested in drama and they are community workers who want to introduce drama into work.
- That it is a peace project is made obvious. However, the blinkers went on once people were in process and realised what the process is really about. Self realisation is part of the personal impact - the process allows the participants to realise effects conflict had on them.

Other comments

With storytelling there has to be absolute disclosure about the process so people buy in; you have to create the safe space.

Other things are happening around peace building – there is apathy around peace-building within communities. If you go into a community and say it is a peace project, people switch off: if you come at it in a gentle way, understanding what people want to achieve first is a way of getting them involved.

You have explicit goals and create the spaces, but powerful things happen in informal environments (such as washing up); a connection comes from the organic space. Also subtle things such as sharing of suicide from those on both sides brought about the encounter, the empathy. Someone on the outside creates the space to allow it to happen – the problem with evaluation is that you may never know it happens as the impact may be 5 years down the line.

This is the problem/ difficulty with evaluation: impact is further down the line. You don't have the resources to follow up with the individuals/ support to sustain the impact.

Desire for it to be societal: but so often, it disappears at the individual level. There is no sharing of it at governmental level.

We should ask: who are the peace-builders? It could be any of us, no matter what involvement in the conflict: but the guilt of involvement in conflict can hold peace-builders back from making an impact.

The role of storytelling is in re-humanising the other. It is about the empathy that takes place - not about the right and wrong.

There is the danger of the single story - I am this and only this. Your identity is much more than your biography. What has happened to you is not all that you are.

A storytelling workshop can be different things for participants (therapeutic/ an encounter) or different depending on what has happened during the week.

Who are you when that story is taken from you? By letting go of an old story and 'writing' a new story, people are released from their past: but some feel that you betray your group by moving away from old to new story.

3rd example of a storytelling project:

- The Butterfly Garden in Sri Lanka is within an active war zone and with young people
- In the initial stages, we don't want to know the biography of the young people; it only comes out after a long time.
- The 12 risk factors are turned into a board game; a story ground; creating theatre and a final production
- It is all metaphorical, including mice, rabbits, elephants, snakes. The young people can say anything, and they do! The opera includes many pieces from many stories. The children come for 9 months - storytelling is about relationship building – they need to be immersed in paradox of the place.
- There is ongoing work - children come for a number of months and then return when older for similar length of time: it is all about play and nonsense.
- Impacts: experience of creativity (the culture is very conformist, war makes them even more rigid); it is looking for the young people's humanity.
- Evaluation is Westernising the children. We need to let it go. Evaluators are looking for a shoe for a foot that doesn't even fit.
- The stories of the garden they invent they can merge into their real lives; to alter their community and interactions beyond their own groups.
- There is confidence building by being creative – it allows participants space to become more confident in sharing about the bigger things.

Other comments

Do the challenging things have to be linked to atrocity? No – they challenge attitudes, ideas, understandings, philosophies.

What is the core purpose to storytelling? There is a range of methodologies but there has to be a core purpose/ set of outcomes- what is the point of doing storytelling if it doesn't change anything?

We have to recognise the power of stories. When someone engages with it, it pitches you outside everyday experience; when you come back, you see things differently. It creates a moment of transcendence. You can achieve this through fiction - when you have people who have been silenced, give them an opportunity to tell a fiction.

The questions is: if you want people to engage with subject matter - why not fiction/ nothing related to those at the table? Does it matter if it is real- is that fundamental to its integrity?

The purpose to storytelling is empathising with the other, sharing and experiencing with their pain in a way which re-humanises the other. It has a set of values, saying what storytelling should be. It can be from a self-development point of view - participants get a lot out of it - but the whole process is not value neutral. How do we select those people to participate? Norms of behaviour need to be signed up to - those who won't sign up to that are excluded.

Confidentiality and respect are normative values, and the value that reconciliation is a good thing - does it limit the societal impact of storytelling, as there are those who don't sign up to those norms - can it have societal impact?

Different storytelling projects have different assumptions of impact.

The value of sharing story:

Seeing people through the difficulty and connecting with some meaning in their lives - enabling them to go through their difficulties.

They are stories of humanity and not of biography. There is a time frame aspect - it takes a long time to build relationships.

It also takes a long time to see the impact – this is the problem is with current evaluation models.

Why do you consider your project successful?

At the Butterfly Garden, more and more people in the community are invested in it: the fundamentalising of the area was causing problems. As a result of the tsunami, there was less impedence from religious, political groups.

The individual impacts of the Butterfly Garden were: Experiencing and enjoying one's own originality; seeing it in another person from other background; thinking independently without adults; not accepting lot as given; making friendships with others; making bridges to broken parts of themselves.

With the community level impacts, you need to ask: is the functioning of this community different to another one further down the road? We are conscious not to slip into belief that just building relationships is going to solve it – you need to incorporate both relationships and structure. The value of relationship building is limited by economic/ political structures. Ultimately you can help build capacity when structures are put in place.

Evaluators need to have empathy; they need to be known by community/ have a connection that the community can trust.

Is there value in evaluation? YES: it can result in donors pulling out or changing the donor base they are seeking for funding. Good evaluations can advertise your work and validate the work.

Storytelling and story listening – it is organic and process-driven, rather than product-driven. Much of the outcome is 'soft'. There may not be a 'hard' evaluation tool that suits.

Group 2

- The big elephant in the room is that there is not a shared understanding of 'evaluation'. What do people mean by the term? A number of different conversations regarding evaluation are going on. The idea of evaluation as measurement is narrow but it is the dominant one. The sense of people being present, organicness, a quality relationship approach is in tension with the positivist, quantitative evaluation approach.
- The primary function of evaluation is that it leads to secure funding as well as benefitting participants.
- The funder will ask for your report. At the basic level they will ask what do you do and how do you know it has the effect you think it has?

- The same goals should be there for the participants and the funders – a social change goal.
- Evaluation should be part of a continuing conversation. Can we do it better the next time? ‘Learning outcomes’ are used at universities, coming from behaviouralism theory from the 1960s, and is a narrow understanding of what humans can be. I can’t prescribe what’s going to be learned in my classroom! It might be learned in the corridor outside. Others say that people tend to leave learning outcomes to the side and just do the work.
- In prevention work, you cannot predict how many women for example don’t turn up at A & E for domestic abuse because of your work. It’s hard to prove. The same is with storytelling. The change can happen because they met someone 10 years later and a spark was reignited. The prevention happens years later too. Storytelling removes a potential action e.g. sectarianism/racism. That won’t be measured 4 weeks after a programme.
- How do you measure hearts and minds? We don’t even know what a victim is – how do we mainstream these?
- What are we actually trying to achieve with evaluation? Positive social change? Is it stuckist or is it transformative? Is the change transformative? You can’t measure that at the end of a workshop. It needs to be qualitative, in-depth interviews and longitudinal, but that’s very difficult to fund.
- What values are basic and helpful in this type of work? We need a clarification before we start. This is what we value and this is what a positive social change would look like. What constitutes the rhetoric of social change versus the way it actually looks. Could only looking at the positive, the smiley-smiley, be damaging? How do you know when to stop storytelling - and how do you know when to start it?
- In my experience there is a limit to how many times you can say your story before you feel like a puppet. You could do personal interviews and ask people about the positive and negative aspects of their experience and try to measure that in a percentage scale, but one person’s experience and perceived positive aspects of the storytelling experience may be different from the next persons. One person may rank freely speaking your mind more highly than other people.
- I see the puppet and I see ventriloquism. On a personal level the bedrock in my mind is rights – where does storytelling collide with a rights based approach? Does it undermine it or help it? If in the seventies you had 6 Catholics and 6 Protestants in a seaside resort, there is no equality there so it was just a reinforcement of the old stereotypes.
- That is about getting the ethics right before you start. It can be hugely damaging if you do not get it right. We don’t hear about the failed projects. Nobody wants to be the evaluator who says ‘this is rubbish’.
- How do we capture good practice and bad practice? That is one evaluation question.

- People used to say ‘the storytelling was great – everyone cried!’ For me good practice is about a safe space, support, and feeling they can continue on without the programme, not disempowered by their vulnerability. We were clear it is not therapy – there’s not supposed to be a catharsis in the room but as the group got closer I became aware of the baggage I had too. As a facilitator it was hard to keep a handle on it. People unearthed memories and trauma they had as children that they had not seen as trauma before.
- We framed it before we started – ‘we can learn to craft a new story together – we can tell a new story.’ It’s like dating again after a long time – you find the story of ‘you’ doesn’t fit anymore, what you used to say on a date doesn’t fit anymore.
- Support is even more important than the story. It is what Judith Thompson was saying – my objective is not to tell stories, it is more to get people to generate a new conversation and become trusting of each other again. And storytelling may come after that. That sets the scene for the storytelling to happen
- What can we realistically expect from these processes of storytelling? You cannot separate the therapeutic potential and the peace building. It is not conventional psychotherapy but it is a part of the process.
- It is about safe space. You never leave the community worse off than you found it. That is the mantra of community development. When I began storytelling facilitation, part of me was saying to myself – you are not a trained counsellor, you do not have the qualifications to deal with that trauma. We gave them resources if they needed therapy.
- There is a difference between something being therapeutic and therapy.
- People open up things. You need to work as a team and have one person with a solid understanding of trauma. That is linked to how you see storytelling. You need someone on staff with that if you see it as therapeutic.
- We need a space where we can talk about our mistakes in a way that is non-threatening and not linked to your funding. A good evaluation design is one where a group learns from themselves and can do that.
- Even with that intention you can’t capture it all because you don’t have the in-depth interviews. The tools can be the subtlest of traps. It can make it less of a safe space for people. More listening is needed on the part of the evaluator – as a participant observer. The funders also get evaluated on how many things they evaluated – it is a quantitative culture.
- As an evaluator you need to build confidence too and a safe space. We need to ask how evaluation is valued. It needs to be viewed as a critical friend.
- Even if we do a few of these participatory/qualitative evaluations that establish the importance of these projects, that will help. The funders could see it as economy of scale – you wouldn’t need to evaluate everything, just a couple of projects.
- We need to re-evaluate the storytelling processes. What is the value of what we are doing? Storytelling is a tool, but the objective is to improve relationships. You need to start working back from there or you get bogged down otherwise.

- There is also the old chestnut of attribution. With positive social change, other things come into play – the economy, politics, media, new communities, etc. Is it possible at all to measure the impact? Some EU projects are not evaluated, only the big funded ones are. They are not asking every tiny project what was their social impact.
- If a funder can see what you need to evaluate storytelling, you could get feedback to influence policy. Could SEUPB get practitioners together to get a practitioner learning community together? We've had 40 years of pilot projects in Northern Ireland and no best practice is out yet. It is also ironic – there is no safe space for groups and practitioners to genuinely learn from each other because they are all in competition with each other.
- What is the demand for storytelling? Catholics are more ready to tell their stories. A project in Derry with the Orange community was saying that there is a complete imbalance in the Protestant community to tell a story – there is very high fragmentation, and being labelled a victim does not sit easy with them. There is also the culture of 'whatever you do say nothing'. We need to ask then of the different groups, what can you realistically expect of that group? Storytelling may be part of a whole series of activities you do with them. Do you evaluate the impact of the whole programme then? You cannot separate out just the impact of the storytelling. What can you expect as an individual in that group, as a community? How you frame that evaluation is different.
- Reconciliation is a fundamental Christian concept that works for some. What some want out of storytelling is different for others.
- I approached a Protestant school to ask if I could do something there and they told me 'that wouldn't work here'. In the Catholic community there is a sense of a siege mentality, a sense of being all in it together. There is deep apathy in the Protestant community.
- The arts as a process are highly important but those stories aren't always truthful stories. It is as important as the victims' stories and needs to be evaluated too. There needs to be an evaluation of the stories that are not part of the truth and reconciliation process. The point is to be mindful in any evaluation tool that there are different ways to tell stories and stories may or may not be crafted. You are not evaluating the truth of the story – you are evaluating the impact.
- You need that 'critical friend'. I have a dream of finding a PhD student to start a process with as a participatory observer. As an evaluator you may not fully understand the process; you need to experience it. If you really want to do good qualitative interviews with someone, can you do that if they don't see you as a critical friend? You need clarity of roles and space and time to develop relationships with them and interview people again. That's what anthropologists do. It's the only kind of evaluation that I think makes sense, with the nature and genre of it. I don't see how you can come in cold. It's about relationships so how can you capture it unless you are somehow part of it?

- As an evaluator of substance abuse treatment programmes, I was based full-time at the clinical site to meet the teenagers when they first arrived, and I was there in the evenings as they did their group activities. They got to know me and were comfortable with me doing the in-depth interviews and you are more likely to reconnect with them further down the line when you call them to do second, third and fourth interviews a year or so down the line to see how they are getting on and how their lives had changed as a result of the things they got involved with through the programmes. Is that embedded evaluator style of evaluation happening in peace building?
- You need to be careful though; you need analytic eyes in order to evaluate.
- You also need empathetic eyes.
- A lot of people say I don't have a story or it is much more than a story to me – so there is a language problem.
- Grainne Kelly did an audit of storytelling groups, but I have never seen a handbook of methods, the verbal and the non-verbal storytelling techniques that people use and in different contexts.
- Storytelling is used the world over – is there an universalistic evaluation technique used anywhere else? Even from an evaluation point of view, it would be useful to have a typology of storytelling clarified.
- Here is an opportunity to assert that unevaluated spaces are the most valuable – they are desirability unevaluated while keeping close to best practice; a very reflective practice, but staying away from evaluation. For example, conversation is at the core of politics with a big P. People are more present in conversation, it is most of what we experience in this world and the majority of the most important things that happen in one's life are in informal conversation. It is important to foster informal conversations. That is what storytelling is! But if we set up storytelling as a formally evaluated space, how does that work? It's about the quality of interaction in a space. It is like deconstructing a poem. You lose something by taking it apart metaphor by metaphor. Therefore we need to talk about reflective practice more, rather than evaluation. We need to change our language.
- The storytelling may be a structured conversation, but the conversations that happen over dinner may be the most important of the weekend. But those parts can't be separated out of the whole process. The evaluation cannot capture it.
- That's where reflective practice is so important. Storytelling is reflecting on your experience. It should be a reflective process. I encourage a personal reflective log - for people to go home and write what I learned, what stuck.



Group 3

How does an organisation decide what you are aiming to do? How important is it for the organisation to be explicit around what they're aiming to do in storytelling?

- The rehumanisation of others.
- To face the enemy.
- To record and archive.
- To have understanding and healing.
- To change attitudes.
- To come up with a different truth in terms of what stories we tell.
- It depends on the culture of the organisation and who is providing the funding.
- Depends whether there is a political dimension or a therapeutic dimension to the organisation.
- The expectations of those involved in the work all will bear an influence on the designing of a process.
- An organisation may have a 'hope' for what could be achieved but be reluctant to say 'this definitely will happen'.
- It's organic because the reasons people come and participate will shape the outcome of the process. It's the relationship between the space created by the organisation and the participants' experiences (shared or not). What participants would articulate as their primary motivation for attending a workshop may be different to how they would articulate that at the end. This can be a rich process, but is difficult with funders.
- Sometimes the organisation will do the work to gather people and may not be able to articulate an aim until they hear what is in the room and hear the potential and also allow the space.

How important is it for the organisation to have a particular narrative/ anthropology/ story/ mythology/ vision of the human person?

- Judith would call it “an appreciative perspective on human nature”. The jury is out on human nature... The question for storytelling is “what’s the most useful interpretation for human beings to move forward” – and her chosen answer is that there are possibilities for creativity. It wasn’t an absolute ideology, but a held optimism to invite people into possibility.

Evaluating the richness of storytelling:

- As a practitioner, the usefulness of being able to evaluate the movement of peoples’ journeys on stories. Perhaps starting with rhetoric, or at best, starting where you ‘are’. Nonetheless, can we find ways of ferreting out from individuals ‘what was it that allowed you to shift from the rhetoric to the personal’? Those kinds of evaluations are helpful. Basically, what are the turning points?
- Short term encounters reinforce stereotypes. Workshops that happen sporadically with no follow up are only going to leave space for pain to reassert a prejudice. We need to allow for the opportunity of movement and change.
- To minimize the possibility of damage in short-term projects, a clear aim, and an asserted ‘feel good factor’ may be helpful.
- An assumption has been made that storytelling can be evaluated. Can the science of evaluation have a meaningful interaction with the art of storytelling?
- Do we come up with artistic ways of evaluating the art of storytelling? Then use this to influence the ways that funders fund.
- Evaluation is a form of translation, from an experience into numbers, and quantitative measurements – and we need to help refine this translation.
- As organizations, we can be afraid of each other. We hold our methodologies close. If we aim to help our participants build relationships, yet our organizations are vicious with each other, there is a problem. We are competing for funding, and we haven’t learnt how to deal with that in a way that’s healthy.
- People don’t live in a project – they live in their life. So, the project can’t take full credit for a changed life – at best it has made a contribution.

Why is the value for us practitioners for evaluation? How would my work benefit for storytelling processes?

- It would help us hear the impact of a project.
- It would help us recognize the difference between what we think the major points of change would be with what the actual felt-points-of-change.
- Helps us to do better work.
- What is someone else doing that’ll inform my practice.
- Practitioners need to be part of the process that develops the evaluation.

- Who decides what's 'objectively successful'? It's usually the winners. We need to subvert a power hierarchy in evaluating what's successful.
- Are we doing an evaluation to learn? Or are we doing it to prove to someone that I did a good job.
- We see the value of evaluation from the point of view of improvement. But the overall question of this workshop seems to be "Does storytelling work or not?" We know that it works because we see the results of people's lives changed. And we want to evaluate so that the parts that aren't working, we want to improve.

A Methodology of Artistic Evaluation (given by Claudia Fontes).

- Indicators can be problematic, based on a logic frame. How many people, women, children, disabled people will benefit from your programme and in what ways?
- Most Significant Change technique. This doesn't depend on the indicators.
- Went to 4 countries and contacted organizations that were there already. Each organisation was asked to nominate 10 users of their activities.
- Random samples were selected, and each one of them was asked "what was the most significant change in the project in which you were engaged".
- After telling their stories, (95 were told) the decision makers (practitioners working in the field) were given the stories to read and they had to make piles of domains of change.
- They classified these stories, and significantly, one of the domains was "personal empowerment" and all of the dimensions of that was being able to share your story in a safe and collective space. Also, another domain was professional development.
- Claudia invited the people to make names that are local/indigenous for these domains of change. This brought out some beautiful and locally rooted values of change.
- Interestingly, in the West African context, it's rude to talk about yourself, so often people brought a friend who spoke on their behalf.
- They then decided to discuss the most significant story from each pile of domains of change. Why this one and not that one?
- When this process was done, the funders were given the domains and the stories, and from that, the funders had to develop their priorities.
- An 'uber-narrative' was created that said "According to the people in this region, a theory of change in this country looks like this".
- This seems to be a storytelling-based evaluation of evaluation.
- This requires a huge amount of trust in the process from the funders.
- It was difficult to ask people to focus on the "negative aspects of the positive change". People found it difficult to think outside of either/or.
- A re-doing of this would ask a separate question "what was the negative side of the positive change".

- In the process a network of organizations was created. A lot of trust building was built.
- What would it mean to do that kind of bottom-up priorities identification in our local context, in creating evaluation tools for storytelling?
- We have a perceived didactic between anecdotal stories and empirical evidence. How can we transcend this perceived discrepancy?
- This system is used on a six-monthly basis for ongoing monitoring.
- Identifying users is an important process.

Sensitivities:

- Individuals within a room may wish to share their stories, but may not even wish that to be shared widely with the whole group for fear of hurt or sensitivity. For instance, in a room where there is an ex-prisoner and the child of the ex-prisoner, the child may wish to say something that may deeply hurt the ex-prisoner, who is also their parent.
- Can you think of anyway where you actually can?

Oral History and 'truth' and personal development:

- This tells us how we remember. If you're looking for facts, you don't go looking to a person's story.
- We are conditioned to think that if someone's story changes, then they're a bad person...whereas our story does change – on impact (or distance from) trauma, new stories, personal empowerment etc.
- There is a social science tool that can be used to measure personal development. There may be some riches from this that could be appropriated to storytelling evaluation.

Diaries:

- Participants were interviewed at regular intervals over a 5 year project, and they kept diaries.
- This is very demanding.

If we were to come up with two main points:

- Using storytelling to evaluate storytelling, and thus, developing a framework that's based from the bottom up.
- A respect for anecdotal stories within the qualitative interview.

Group 4

- It isn't always a process of healing, but also trauma, of reopening wounds; identified a need to ensure going down positive route rather than negative route.
- Need to learn about how storytelling works; body deals with the past; dilemmas in storytelling; learning from peoples experience and how to evaluate
- Identified need to learn how storytelling fits into the general peace-building process
- Intrigued by the concept of coming up with an evaluation method; particular methodology in Warrington; wish to learn about different methodologies; our work has been evaluated, but desire to investigate other principles
- Identified a lot of fear around the idea of evaluation; not comfortable engaging with the idea of evaluation
- Rick Davies: how do we manage complexity; capturing complexity: what do you do when you have with 101 stories: what method, interested in the development of methods; there won't be a single methodology; we'll end up with a handful of different ideas. Question: is aiming for a single methodology a good idea? Interested in the development of methods (see www.mande.co.uk)
- Mindful that story telling is not always a positive experience; development of two different languages in relation to one issue: storytelling and evaluation – can feel like a contradiction; need to recognise this as a dilemma, need to manage expectations about what is possible in a few days. Recognition of a place we don't want to go to.
- Shaun Henry's anecdote about his son and the intergenerational dimension; felt uncomfortable with his comment: accusation of re-traumatising by revisiting: his way of grieving. I don't believe that this is the case - but emotional impact can allow this interpretation; listening to Judith Thompson – sense of appreciation; fundamental to create safe space – appreciating the humanity of the person sharing; I heard her saying that it is a state of consciousness – it is a state of being, try to create a sense of vast possibility, anything is ok (except violence); facilitators have to be willing to enter those places also – Judith's work is very inspiring – evaluation is going to be very difficult
- The issue of re-traumatising emerged frequently today. With the last example, how could you tell that you are re-traumatising: who could make that judgement? There is a need to evaluate the possibility of re-trauma through very professional judgement (psychotherapy); Karl Rogers has a crucial question when considering evaluation – can it be replicated; you can train people to be better listeners?
- Is listening a skill that can be taught; or is it a personality; how does this impact evaluation?

- How do you select participants? It is intuition; we ask questions about motivation for coming; about support structures before and after; about previous engagement in storytelling; it is about getting the sense that people are ready for it, their expectations are managed; we decide with them whether the process is the right thing for them.
- Recognition that story telling is not for everyone: was there a difference if for example two people go through the same process with different results; is this an experience aspect? Who bought into it? People emerge with different outcomes and experiences.
- Considering a retreat or the residential; is the place you do the work important to the process of storytelling? What gets safe is the minimisation of intrusions (which can't always be helped); sacred holding/carrying your own home with you. A more confined space produces deepest work
- We've had a lot of cases of non-safe space. We've had to move our spaces a lot, due to breach of confidentiality. It is essential that the space is safe for everybody; if one person is not safe it's not safe for everyone.
- Your environment impacts on the process; but transformative work is also possible in harsh environments; it's about the group as much as the physical space
- Even in a single identity group, opinions will still differ; different backgrounds extend beyond victim/perpetrator dichotomy.
- In storytelling processes, and often there was a voice missing – the security forces voices; SF personnel often lived by NOT explaining who they are; there is an inability or unwillingness to self identity. How do you engage these people? They first ask: are you going to make me sit in a room with a Republican? But there is a desire to tell their story; how do you assist them to do that, and then assist people in a process who wish to engage (beyond their own security group)? Some groups felt that it wasn't the kind of thing that men carrying guns would do. There is a reaction against 'storytelling'.
- How do you enable participants to select the process most suitable to them; and second, with hard to reach groups, (security and youth), if some people participate from these groupings, does it have a ripple effect, if they go back to their own community? If people emerge from their community to participate, do they fit as easily when they go back. An issue is not about the engagement but what happens after.
- Storytelling's transforming power sometimes results in dependency, their safe place, their comfortable place – 'it's the only place I feel at home'.
- How would you evaluate that: we could create a list of things that are not evaluable.
- Take it back a step: why do we have to evaluate the work? You are constrained by participant numbers, attending numbers . But you are doing it because you value it. We are being evaluated because we're receiving public funding.

- There is an argument that a lot of time evaluating could be used doing the work itself
- Some use their evidence to sustain the project. Evaluation is no good for evaluation sake. We need to know we're getting something from it.
- But you are only showing your targets; the value we see in the work is difficult to show in a report.
- We were supposed to conduct evaluations about participants, including attitudinal changes; but the best evaluations come from open ended evaluations and funders aren't interested in those.
- Open ended questions are valuable but how do you aggregate them. There are ways and means of doing that; we just have to think imaginatively how we do that.
- It's not just about public money; there is the issue of accountability. You are already evaluating by determining good and bad outcomes.
- It is impossible to evaluate the impact of storytelling over a prolonged period of time; also, how do we account for multiple perspectives? Reference to Patricia Lundy: she offered a multiperspective analysis.
- What should evaluation be about? This is incredibly complex. There is a relationship with facilitator, space, timing, participants; what is interesting is the presentation of story and the different language.
- The EU wants their reports after programme cessation, but the impact can filter out across a longer time.
- NI culture can be quite sarcastic, and that atmosphere in the room might contradict the necessary atmosphere for evaluation. Are there other cultural lenses that we need to account for and how do we evaluate it?
- We use the same methods in various contexts: it's about creating a culture of 'what works' – people in NI joke a lot about serious things. As facilitator I stopped this and raised awareness about it; we're so used to putting each other down and being afraid to talk. We need to build a culture where people acknowledge what moved them. I have to create a safe context, I can't allow people to do things 'the way the always do it'.
- If the evaluator is present throughout the process you are aware to nuances etc.
- But if an evaluator is too invested in the project, there is the possibility that they will develop emotional attachment and lack of objectivity. An independent evaluator may help the process.
- It is better to have an evaluator involved from the early stages of the process.
- Is there also a question of reflective practice, of measuring your own growth and change? Is this considered by funders? The challenge is how honest you can be when things didn't work.
- There is a strong element of evaluation of development work. What matters is the theory of the project in the heads of the project workers; you are trying to make explicit what is implicit.



Discussion 2: Interpersonal change in storytelling processes

Group 1

How can we measure the subjective in an objective way? Is there an inherent danger in trying to do this?

- Will a well meaning, visionary funder listen to this and implement it and then will it become ridiculous because it becomes quantifiable?
- The possibility to have an action researcher throughout process would be desirable- however, need to beware of the ethics – ensure that they are not about researching their next book.
- Problem of consistency- one project/ group process may be evaluated but others may not be.
- Danger of intensive evaluation can skew the whole process.
- If you are funded by an independent funder- would you still evaluate? How would you set up an evaluation?
- 1st question - what are your objectives/ what is your rationale?
- 2nd question - how will you measure it/ know it is working?
- Design with your specific project in mind- not one process that suits all.
- Need genuinely to consider evaluation at the beginning - and who you will use to do the evaluation? You should have them in mind at the beginning. But how do we do this when we are struggling to get funding in the first place?
- There is a responsibility within our own organisations to learn about evaluation.
- We need to develop a relationship with an evaluator who has an understanding of the processes you are using- we need empathy from evaluators.
- Can the cumulative record of storytelling and the journey through conflict be shown to lead to improved relationships and social change?
 - Can deepen understanding
 - Re-humanising effect
 - Healing of relationships

- Need funders to recognise the softer outcomes- as they are the best ways to measure so need to find a way to fund this.
- Difficulties of bureaucracy: culture of fear within administrative bodies; financial audit background; not programme background.
- Personalities play a role
- Professionalism in the sector
- Work is held back by the structure of the funders- will this ever change?
 - understand the dynamics
 - work together as a community over a long time
- Evaluation is very important: are we going to put forward proposals for more humane and effective evaluation?
 - We need to challenge the status quo; need to challenge more; voluntary sector needs to take more responsibility for challenging because we are good at what we do
 - We have entered a culture of put up or shut up - have allowed the loss of our voices with funders/ decision making
 - There is rivalry in the sector but we need to be open to work in partnership (e.g., the building of a body of knowledge - cannot continue operating in our own silos as we are losing the value of our work). Working collaboratively would become an evaluation tool in itself. Sharing is also about feeding knowledge and experience into our own organisations- not just an external process
 - Funders keep asking how we are going to evaluate- gets in the way of doing the work. Need someone external to come in and set up the processes
 - Need time to assimilate together what it is we are talking about, a space to absorb it and see how it fits into our own context.
- Can we demonstrate the cumulative value of our work - we are stronger if we work collaboratively. We can also do this to create an evaluative methodology and we can go to funders with proposals from the sector. It would provide a stronger voice to support our plans for evaluation.
- You have to know what you want to get out of it to know what it is you need to put in.
- Local knowledge of groups by evaluators is key to monitoring the effects of a project.
- Authors/books of relevance to identifying relevant evaluative tools: 'Play' by Stuart Brown; 'Telling stories to change the world' by Scott Edward Anderson; 'Putting the last first' by Robert Chambers.

Group 2

- Thinking about an evaluator in the group – how would you ensure they don't damage/inhibit the process?
- Coming from an anthropology background, they come on with agreement form the group – how they formulate what goes on in the group is as a participant, it is well thought out and respectful of the process, with agreement from the group
- Danger they would go native – given the intensity of the group and process. You're not objective.
- Native is good but you need to have the skill set to pull yourself out of it. Have to go native or something will be missing. The going native danger is well known in the field – it is a known tension to keep their role. People won't just work on their own – they would have a supervisor, a coaching outside of it – a sounding board. That person has an outside-inner position. Facilitators may be wary of this though. The process needs to be very carefully facilitated.
- There is not a culture of writing, as there may be literacy issues in a group but you could invite people to do a reflective journal especially for accreditation – they capture their journey and make that available to a researcher.
- The participant observer evaluator has gone through the process of the workshop so they are part of the journey – if they became a peer in the previous process – if you target someone with research skills who was a former combatant to be equipped to do part of the evaluation – it can be thought of like a pilot stage to introduce an evaluator who is appropriate, and then embed it. It depends on the makeup of the operational group so as not to make the present working group feel awkward
- Former combatants will understand and get it – few academics will have taken that journey, no matter how sensitive they are. What skills in former combatants could be skilled up – how can we develop their skills to be an evaluator? It is happening on the facilitation front.
- You would try to have facilitators with different backgrounds – that's at the facilitation level – what would it take to skill someone to become an ethnographic researcher? A degree? What if we get 5 people with the interest but not the skills? There is no point in sending someone on a course to learn how to do evaluation when we already know ethnographic research would be the best approach.
- Also, to capture the learning you need extremely good writing skills – and even if you can write it – you have to be able to see it.
- When it comes to observation and evaluation from the get go , you need to negotiate with them where the confidentiality boundaries lie – does anything always need checked out by every group member before it is published? The person needs to be respectful – if they are told that something is not safe but they do it anyway – the trust is gone. But things they want to remain confidential may be so important for the evaluation – how do you deal with that tension?

- Learning is happening within a storytelling process. You are back to defining the evaluation again – the process, the outputs, the outcomes for the entire group, the learning for the facilitator not to make mistakes again. Does an action researcher/participant observer have responsibility to capture all the layers of evaluation? It may lead to confused conversations. You also need to capture why the process worked so well.
- How do you evaluate the incident on the mountain that Wilhelm talked about – there is no formula for that magic moment – cant say x plus y will means he helps him over the rocks.
- As facilitators we try to take notes of the checkouts – it ends up in piles of notebooks, but it hasn't been compiled and researched. So much is lost. You might need some video images ideally too. The evaluator should interweave their evaluation report with that material. You might need a fresh person to the group to evaluate the documentation and process parts. Then if you put all those together, you might begin to say this is the real picture of the programme. You need to question why do you want to gather all that material? What is it saying, what can it be used for? But you have a better chance of building a body of knowledge to feed into the action and change the way people think about evaluation and human processes.
- It is so important to have a partnership with a research centre that 'gets it'. We are interested in understanding how it works. The funder's interest is value for money. It's not incompatible.
- There is a formula to storytelling, but there is other stuff that goes on with it – for example, the skillset of the facilitators. If you had someone on the room long enough, they could write up what it is that makes a good facilitator.
- There is a sense of all this stuff that has been learned so people don't make the mistakes that have been made, but if that's the process the group needs to go through, why can't we recreate the wheel, if it is going to build up the body of knowledge? Like kids need to make the mistakes – they need to learn for themselves.
- Ideally you want the longitudinal aspect as well – if we are talking about evaluating interpersonally journeys of connection.
- We need someone to do it with several groups – not just a surface scanning – they need to be a participant observer in at least 3-5 different groups. Ideally someone could take on the journey part of it because that is different from inviting someone to a weekend event. They might see the different dynamics in different groups and what made the difference there.
- An audit of storytelling methodologies doesn't exist, and some of that could be helped by participant observation. That wouldn't focus too much on one project and place too much emphasis on that as the best practice, but you would see the complexity and all the variables.

- Storytelling could be done through film, poetry theatre. They could be very different to another storytelling projects. There are also creative writing groups, which aren't necessarily about peace-building but they talk about the conflict because that's their context. Some become peace-building projects organically. We came from an area where we felt the storytelling tradition was dying out. We discovered a number of people had huge conflict related stories. They said they would like more of this in a peace-building context.
- Evaluation has become coupled with research. If this is done properly, there will also be a space for practitioners to share more, what worked and didn't work. A reflecting, mentoring and professional development space would be helpful. What will hopefully come out of the evaluation process will be some of those needs. Being honest about the things we struggle with which you cannot share with a funding interviewer. In terms of value for money, you are showing that by going into a space that is funding supported, not funding driven, you get more.
- I have 14 years in community development but I don't have any training in peace-building! What do we mean by it and how do you do it? If storytelling is to build peace, a tool, we need to give everyone who does that some training. There are examples where ST has had disastrous effects. There should be some way of clearing ethics.
- Does storytelling need a governing body? Maybe just an academic reassurance.
- We are dealing with very vulnerable people; it is people's lives we are dealing with. They are the ones who take greater risks; they have to go back into their communities. If it is not properly debriefed and reflected on, it could be really serious.
- We don't want to force this through the university system ethics board – they won't have an understanding of the conflict issues we intuitively know. The question becomes: how do we go become adhoc-ism and build a system to alleviate that particular danger. Whose responsibility is it to look over it? Which projects would you exclude?
- What differentiates me from any gang member to call ourselves 'a community worker'? A set of standards. Any maverick can apply for storytelling money and do anything. We need a code of conduct for storytelling – that could be accredited courses. But quite often the people involved can't afford it – it has to be accessible.
- It's more about checking the integrity of how you are operating. It's a membership based thing. It is about training, ongoing support and supervision.
- It exists for facilitators but not storytellers. It is about ensuring the quality of the work, not for funders, although they will know it is quality work being presented.
- We have talked about scope for a research proposal in 3 parts– the first is a scoping exercise, an inventory of storytelling projects for peace-building, giving a lens to understand what they do and how they do it, the 'what' is going on; secondly, look at specific case studies to dig deep into the mechanics, outputs

and impacts; and thirdly, evaluation tools and practice – looking at what is currently available, and yes we use Aid for Peace – but the practice part is interesting because we can do some pilot work with a participant observer across a range of storytelling projects.

Group 3

- There may be a difficulty for us in talking about ‘group change’ and ‘society change’. Societal level is at the higher level, climate change impact on society, but a law can impact on the groups.
- There are theories of change that look at relational change impacting on wider society. But does anybody go about to have ‘societal change’ as part of their storytelling process? You’d need to have a long-view at. Storytelling work is work that happens on the micro-level of relational.
- To change society, we may wish to engage media in telling wide stories. There is also the idea of a ripple effect where small amounts of people can change their groups.
- Based on 30/35 years of conflict, what’s your expectation of changing society? It needs to be realistic and long-term.
- If you’re coming from a more dramatic background of involvement, you’ll see huge change, and if you’re coming from a fairly safe background with little involvement in conflict, you may not think that much has changed in NI.

Intergenerational intergroup change

- There can be inter-generational change that happens from different generations of groups of people from one background.
- We know stories of some young people who think their parents stories of conflict are irrelevant and nothing to do with the current. We know other young people who lament that they were born in the ‘wrong time’ and so they wish they could be involved in conflict.
- This is also about class. Class is a huge issue. The funding sector works primarily with the working class area, and yet the middle class areas are the places where the policy makers may come from.

Middle Classes and policy makers...

- Could we use Lederach’s model for getting mid-range leaders of social institutions to do storytelling with each other?
- Some of this is happening with mid-range leaders of police etc.

Schools:

- Look at the integrated schools in the US. The extreme situations seem to have a reputation for violence.
- Some of the integrated schools in NI may not be good at capturing the learning that are happening or providing opportunity for conversation and difference to be discussed.
- And we need to be careful to properly identify what 'groups' we mean. Perhaps 'Catholic'/'protestant' aren't the right groups to identify, rather than things to do with class and money.

Could we find environments where storytelling flourishes naturally?

- Hair dressers.

Questions about Funders/Funding and the relationship of practitioners

- How can we have some influence on changing the culture of evaluation?
- What are the models we want to propose for evaluation? Wilhelm suggested some.
- Much of how the funding climate operates now in NI is due to the misappropriation of funds by practitioners and groups in the early days.
- How can we have a constructive contribution, given acknowledgement of the previous ways that funding has happened.
- A major selling point is to offer a different model that's collaborative between the practitioner and funder.
- Doing a storytelling workshop with a body of funders. This would help positive relationships between practitioners and funders also.
- The funding question can sometimes sidetrack us from the quality of our work. As a methodology, how do we build our quality and self-evaluate in order that we can build sustainability, and also make approaches to others who are interested.

Do we need to evaluate? Why? What do we need to evaluate?

- You need to be able to capture the learning from here to go elsewhere. You need to be able to convince people that this process works where the contexts.
- Evaluation is a pain we have to go through. Long-term, for this work to be embedded, for us to engage with people who can mainstream the work (youth sector, or educational system) we have to be able to stand over the work that we do. In the short term it's in our interest to come up with something that validates what we do, and in a format that values how we do. The nature of our work is inclusive, so we do need to be inclusive of our funders, and not in a way. We really need to be in better contact with our funders. The overall aim is to influence legislation, conditions etc. that can make our work be taken seriously. We don't want to slip back to where we were – we want to continue improving as a society – better dealt with within the educational system, sociologically, within the

legislative system. The funders, and the people who can make things happen have to be able to look at our storytelling work and say “That stuff works” and see storytelling as a way that can be part of the change.

- Wilhelm was highlighting the difficulty in finding space for reflection. Several of the Universities do have the system of funding a PhD student. Could we engage in this where a PhD student is part-practitioner, part evaluator/recorder?
- Some people need simply to be able to tell a story of trauma. What makes ordinary people do extra ordinary things. We open the stories up for people who have a limited view of things, so that by hearing a story, their vision of what contributed to conflict, and how they might have, and how they might be able to contribute peacefully, is broadened. We also open up and give nuance to people for whom ‘conflict’ is a simple idea – they easily blame one group, and after the experience, it’s not so straightforward. The impact of storytelling is in all these areas. So, why do we want to evaluate? We want to be better at narrowing down exactly what the ‘something’ is that makes all these processes work – in terms of the impact on the person who was in the process, and also in terms of what worked for that person as they went on to live the changes that they experienced in their group.
- There is a need for individuals to hear stories, and for things to be borne-witness-to. There is so much validation around the need for people to claim their own voice, and be heard. We can theorise why it’s important.
- What’s the difference in the approach to evaluation to thinking of it (a) as a funding requirement or (b) an in-house improvement technique. Would you not in fact put down in paper what come from b/ for the purpose of speaking with your funders.
- What’s the key point? Is it the methods around which projects are evaluated? It’s not evaluation. It can be how funders ask projects to be evaluated. Name/address/note- taking/lack of privacy etc. Evaluation happens – in-depth, rich and self-critical evaluations within each group.
- There are different reasons why evaluation is done – some of those constructive, some of those destructive, and those reasons influence the methodology of evaluation. What would it mean to be in cooperative relationship with funders, so that there’s not a violation of what is very important, but a deep learning about how to improve what’s going on. What is going to make organizations effective is the time for practitioner reflection, some of which may in time includes the funders. There needs to be a new understanding of ‘power’ - rather than funders having power-over, they could have power-with.
- Also, something to do with the idea of the complication of societal change.
- There can be a culture of ‘not wanting to be involved with people’s messy emotions – no tears, none of this love-stuff that happens’. This has given storytelling a bad name. This can happen from the point of view of people who are funding, but also participating.



Group 4

- The theory of change: there needs to be a connection between the conceptual schema of the practitioner and the end point and how to get there. This includes making explicit how practice will contribute to an observable and verifiable objective. You know what you're going to achieve at various stages and what their contribution will be to the end result. Within reach is the subtraction of intended action from action after a workshop is complete, mapping before and after the workshop – then follow up with interviews and observe the situated network after.
- We like the metaphor of planting seeds, cultivating, pursuing networks.
- We worked with prison officers who were not engaged with anyone, they are now interacting with other initiatives; there is also the fact that people's intention to interact with someone after a workshop may work with someone else completely. Does the ripple effect have a value if it's not part of the evaluative framework? There are many examples of impacts, but can they be set down in an evaluative form?
- In terms of summarising evidence, I would find it meaningful if they were connected to your hopes and intentions; this creates a context for evaluation, it packages impacts and outcomes. As a funder is this useful
- From a funders perspective what they want is a good, honest evaluation; recipients tend to point to positive, but there is less willingness to deal with problems and failure. People want to know what problems emerged despite the donation of substantial monies.
- As practitioners, we set our own objectives; we sought funding to evaluate our own objectives. The funder wants to know what the outcomes are and what the unexpected outcomes were. There is an element we tend to forget; WE decide what we want to do. Funders don't want the money back; they want you to spend it.
- There are donors and donors. Some are flexible and open, others are not. Targeted funding can corrupt the organisation's objectives. It's not respecting that you have an idea. I have had some of the positive, but other times I've lost ownership of the product.

- Some funders are engaged and others are not. Often it is neglect rather than engagement. Reports and evaluations can be ignored. You often need to put reports on the web so that there is openness regarding public money. Storytelling is a lot more sensitive; how would you feel about your evaluation report being publicly available?
- The sensitivity of the work is a factor. There is a problem with maintaining anonymity. We wrote a lessons learned report, but I couldn't write about what I wanted to write because it would identify people. We had to write blandly and avoid detail, case studies were excluded. It's all useful for practitioners but there are issues of sensitivity.
- Some stuff needs to be public, but there is no way some things could be made public; it would have impacted on lives and compromised future initiatives.
- There could be a disclosure policy: what is available and what is not available. Moving towards an explicit statement on your disclosure policy. Some things are valuable to the organisation, but not necessarily to the public.
- I've had an example of conducting a storytelling initiative with an interviewee who later withdrew; how is this evaluated?
- Wilhelm talked about the action researcher; that would be a great thing. We maybe need to look at specific training.
- Storytelling evaluation is not necessarily amenable to external observation; to have an observer there impacts on the process. But Wilhelm made me think maybe we could have an observer. Their role could be explained to the participants.
- It's often the case that people want to capture the programme at the end, trying to explain the evaluative role at the beginning is very difficult; people are nervous, they're unsure of other people, therefore embedding evaluation is problematic.
- At Corrymeela, we recorded things like exchanging mobile numbers, visiting houses, celebrating birthdays – these were indicators of change
- That is the kind of classic data you'd use in social network analysis. That looks at a baseline of social networks, then looking at what percentage of people engage over time.
- We do need more discussion on baseline and comparisons.
- Email and mobile phones are private, but Facebook is public - there are concerns about listing someone as a friend when their other friends might find it a problem.
- From evaluative perspective: the use of networking might influence other variables; they might become friends.
- Regarding connecting the intervention with the change; there are moments of change, when practitioners see things happening, but how do we record them? What are the moments of change that are attributable to the intervention? I'm just wondering about other examples of change that are a direct result of this process, and how have we recorded?
- I'm not sure we have recorded it, not evaluatively. How do you record the moment when a paratrooper, a loyalist and a republican all walk down the same street in Warrington together?

- Compare what you would hope to happen with what does happen.
- Yes, but we never even thought it would happen.
- The most profound moments of change are interpersonal, but we're not good at recording it because of confidentiality, and how much weight do we attribute to it? It's difficult to quantify the impact: we could say the X number of people were involved and offer an evaluation of their interpersonal relationship, but it's not big enough; it doesn't broaden to a bigger 'what happening in this process'.
- Wilhelm talked about NVivo, and monitoring changes in dialogue over time; this is appropriate in documenting that type of interpersonal change.
- How big does the impact need to be for the donor; is that type of change big enough in the world of SEUPB?
- Impact can remain at the microlevel
- The interpersonal level is the impact on families on their attitudinal change, etc.
- There can be negative impacts; people no longer speak to each other, it can damage existing relationships - and this is hard to measure.
- If you want to change people's behaviour they need to be subject to multiple perspectives and multiple connections.
- Participants in some programmes have reported being questioned by other family members – things like asking who is asking questions, and who is not asking, who is excluding discussion.
- Theories of change can also change over time with the tentative insertion of various new elements into the process.
- Evaluators should learn sensitivity to the process. We had difficulty in finding relevant evaluators. The skills that are needed are ideal but it's difficult to find them.
- The school of thought is that someone needs to come in from outside to evaluate, and I'm not sure that works. It is better to generate the knowledge from embedded discussion; for example, video the discussion and post on the web. Think a bit more creatively, videoing people talking about the programme: that is self evaluation.
- It is about doing something other than statistics – we need to do something
- What you need is a combination of self evaluation and external review of self evaluation; for example, the self evaluation is done, and someone helps them to evaluate that.
- That may assume that self evaluation 'taints' the evaluation, that it's not objective. But the benefit is that the groups are giving us much more detailed evaluation.

Discussion 3: Societal impacts of storytelling processes

Group 1

In terms of the chosen methodologies of the Garden- does it come out of the culture of the place? Is it rich in the culture already?

- Very rich theatre traditions. Use cultural tools at their disposal Core idea of being able to play- not intuitive to the culture (oppressive totalitarian government, so spontaneity/ play is not encouraged culturally) Useful tool in the garden to open their minds

The process shows them the richness of the possibilities within themselves.

Animators and children working together is sometimes a problem; animators come from a rigid experience that causes a disconnect between them and young people.

- Connected animators in their own journey to allow them to become freer in their own creativity
- Unlike the UK/ NI experience, parents are not a limiter as they support the schools who send their children to the garden.

As long as you know what the parameters are of what you want to achieve, will determine the evaluation tool employed:

- How do you show the changes in those young people - how can you be sure they carry on with the learning?
- Is it an objective of the project that the learning continues beyond the garden? That the young people apply what they've learnt to everyday life?

One informal evaluation sought out young people who had been through the garden experience:

- We sent 'local' people to conduct interviews
- Stories that came back showed how difficult the young people's lives were but also reported on those young people who hadn't gone through the garden and what happened to them.

The power of play:

- Something in play that creates a safe environment, bonds, energises; has an impact personally, maybe not at a wider societal sense
- Play bonds and allows discussion to happen afterwards.

- We need to recognise importance of play – it is an essential part of learning and socialisation. If we look at children who haven't been exposed to play versus children who have come from warm loving environments and are thrown into conflict- is there an impact on those children who have never experienced play once they have the opportunity to do so?
- However, no matter the upbringing, everyone responds differently to a given situation/ experience; individuality will always be there.
- We all deal differently with the same situation: we create a structure that allows everyone to have a different experience/ response.
- We need to learn how to deliberately create a space for beauty in a conflict zone it. Beauty is something that takes us out of ourselves/ transcends the everyday/ interrupts familiarity.
- The garden is theirs- the children own it. This must go beyond the garden when they leave and take their part of the garden with them.
- Earthwork + artwork = heartwork

How can storytelling have an impact at a societal level?

- We need to start with asking what does a peaceful society look like? There are certain indicators of a peaceful society. These need to be agreed- whatever they are.
- You must start with defining what it is to be 'a peaceful society' and then build the storytelling process to create that/ impact on the building of that.
- One example of societal impact (not necessarily through storytelling): The experience of volunteers at Corrymeela - being involved in that peace-building environment - as a direct result, many have entered a career path that involved them in community development, peace-building.
- Practitioners recognise key elements within the storytelling that can contribute to a peaceful society- core elements in the process that we would all like to see in a peaceful society:
 - transformation of relationships
 - economics
 - A peaceful society is alive in its soul
 - etc
- Are we seeking to make social change? YES. Is it to achieve a peaceful society? Maybe that is not the ultimate goal - all objectives might contribute to a peaceful society, but measuring that is problematic as what you're doing/ the groups/individuals you are working with may be too far away from a societal level change.
- Our evaluation tools do not necessarily need to measure societal change- impact depends on individuals involved in any given process; depends on the 'status' sphere of influence (eg, politicians, former combatants - they may be in a position to have a higher influence on society).

- The ability to see a different possibility through the experiences of ‘storytelling’ – impacts on their choices, which has to have an impact on society as they will engage with their society in a different way to how they would have without those experiences.

Group 2

- The connection of nature and the soul: sweeping the floor, doing stuff in the garden, seeing the value of it – the garden is like your soul, taking care of your garden relates to taking care of what’s within.
- There is something in restoring beauty – if you live in a place that is devoid of soul – like some of the function of Reimagining Communities project, you can change this, you don’t have to live in a place like this. It is like the fact that you can change your story – it can be imagination. It is almost like art therapy.
- It was amazing that when the children come first, they tell stories about the violence, and by the end it is about the garden, the violence is not central, not the total story – it is almost a footnote.
- It’s about the reframing of peoples stories – here was a loyalist linked to that terminology – suddenly he becomes the person who never had education beyond the age of 14 – he becomes the story he wrote rather than the story he came with. He breaking the story.
- Often with people involved in violence, a creative energy gets deadened but they don’t know how to get new confidence to tap into the creative imagination.
- That’s not unlike what Theatre Of Witness does – Teya interviews a lot of people then brings it down to 7 who do a dramatic performance of their own words – it is a huge process of editing their transcript with them. About creativity - when you go to an art gallery, how do you evaluate that? How do you evaluate spontaneity?
- We get drawn to storytelling because we know at an intuitive level that something is happening –creativity is positive, constructive, the opposite of violence. Storytelling is responding to, trying to undo reverse the destructiveness of violence. How do you understand the core of what it is you do – is it cultivating new connections? The dynamics of peace and reconciliation has a lot to do with this, the need to find a way to support those connecting, life giving processes that have been undermined. That is what storytelling is as a peace-building mechanism – it is a creative response to violent conflict. Unless you have that bigger framework, how can you evaluate storytelling?
- Paul seemed to say that it was all beautiful, all spontaneous. But that’s one of the rules of creative writing – it is not about evaluating the work – you might write a boring story, but the process is about opening it up. There are some stories that just resonate with you more. But you are wanting to evaluate whether the process gave people a space to open up, not how well they articulated their story.

- Do you evaluate the cathartic outcomes of it – e.g. in quiltmaking, that's the difficulty.
- At a deep level you are trying to transform destructive processes. Something in that process should have helped me overcome that. Has it been a humanising or dehumanising process. You can't say it will reconcile you but by becoming part of this you will be helped to come to the top of the valley, you will see beauty again, have relationships again rather than be drawn down into the rocks, the violence, the valley of darkness.
- What words would you use to describe the process? Supportive, helpful, creative, democratic, inclusive. If you compare the potential of storytelling to conflict, which is dehumanising, tribalism, hatred, storytelling can be a space for honesty, reconnection, listening, expressing – it becomes an anathema to violent conflict.
- We need to tell participants that stories can take you into the valley of darkness. In what type of process is it creative or is it blinding? You have to be specific about the type of storytelling you are talking about. People can use it not to make peace because of the stories I grew up with. That is blinding negative, powerful stories – that's the dark side of storytelling – what types of stories are destructive. Then you can say what type of processes should I design that would be good.
- Would you say that all stories that lead to violence are misguided? Take the story around the civil rights movements – unemployment, gerrymandering – these stories were told in every house in my street where two people had jobs out of 120. These were real stories that drove people to anger and violence. Conflict itself is not evil; it is the context.
- Not at all – you have a story and it is about how attached you are to it in terms of your identity, if you are using your story to justify your negative choices. That is exactly the point of processes like the TRC – people get to tell their painful stories instead of just to others in their own community – not to agree, but be exposed to other stories and to listen, to hear the others stories of what you did to us for the first time. It makes it more difficult for only one community to tell their story. It's out there – you might hate it – but you can't walk away from it, if it is told from the heart.
- Exposure may justify why you've taken a particular stance, but it is the act of listening that something happened other than your interpretation of it.
- What about balance – is there possibility that it is seen as not accessible – it is seen as the thing the Catholics do – is there a possibility that the whole process becomes tainted?
- That's why Pauls project is so interesting – he is not using explicit peace language – people may have resistance, baggage about coming to a 'peace' project but you could describe it another way to draw people in. You need nuanced language to invite people in. That's one reason why the nature based activities draw people – there is a sense of adventure, fun, risk. You change the incentive, the setting, and the language. It is an adventure in the Scottish highlands – we're not going to reconcile.

- That is the carrot – but the goal is to up-skill. The attraction is to peoples interests rather than peace and reconciliation
- Paul's emphasis was placed on product – the mask, the books – for the artist the product is very important. They are actually doing something – a fortnight to make a mask is very important, tangible. I liked that about the project – the music dance is the young boy's dance. It is ownership.
- I think it allows the conversation to happen. I don't think it was the most important thing – what you're doing on the outside can help to focus what's going on in the inside. The mask making just facilitates that.
- Children do like to see a final product, but I think that's with adults too – they love to see a creative beautiful thing too. It is good for self esteem.
- Where does the personal story go? You get the opportunity to create a whole new story. There has got to be permission – this is where we are going with this, are you OK with that. We are going to hear your story but being overt about the fact that there is an opportunity to transform that and recreate that.
- The Garden could have gone to the schools that are actually using the garden stories and they could have asked teachers how do you use it with the Muslim children, what has been the impact. That's an opportunity missed.
- It was interesting that Paul also said you need someone to live there, to smell it and see it in order to analyse it. He contrasted that with the types of outsider evaluation they experience – which is worse than here – the colonial person coming in that scares the children.
- He saw all the unattached money as the most enabling money – you are able to do the most with that.
- Those things typically would not be captured in our evaluation process – the issues around beauty and soul – but they are reasons why we are so passionate about storytelling. There is no space in our culture, it is not taken seriously to use the language of beauty, spirituality, and soul. It's not as visible and clear but we can see its use in other cultures. There is a value in the two way process – we can learn from others.
- Why are we so uncomfortable with those terms? Is it religious overtones?
- Why are there places where story is so valued? Sri Lanka – they are creating their own myths. Native Americans have mythological processes. The stories of gods in India. How does that link to values in society? It is all about seeing value in the land. Every culture creates its value system. Are there any mechanisms to evaluate the impact of that in a society?
- The story of Troy is our founding European myth – a mean, cruel, destructive war by Greeks who attacked Troy and destroyed the city to get access to Black Sea. The Greeks realised that the violent story was not a good one to be remembered by and created a love story about Helen instead – like the boys and their clay.
- It is linked to the theory of stories and the power of stories – it is about human reality in a way facts and figures cannot capture.

- Why do stories have the power to drive people to war? There is a sense of purpose belonging, plays up your fear – e.g. Hitler, survival, threat of extinction.
- Why did you join the army?
- For personal development as a young man – a passage into manhood.
- Was there a story behind it?
- I was drawn to stories of WW1 WW2, the Greek wars.
- We need to get more British army people over to tell their story – it is such a crucial part especially from a Republican point of view – it was them against the British state
- A lot of boys I knew went to the Gardai or the Met, none joined or would have been encouraged to join RUC. I just couldn't understand why the brother of my friends in Scotland joined the British Army. I realised it was just a career for them, but it was a closed door to so many here.
- It's part of a normal society that people from that society join the police.
- As we were talking about the power of stories, we moved a little into storytelling – we were tired in the discussion but are more energised now – it's not the same as talking about dry statistics about the army. Something happened there that cannot be elicited by figures – it says something about the power of storytelling.
- Needs to be an opportunity for people to tell those untold stories. People who didn't lose a daughter or son but were burnt out of their house, whose Protestant neighbours gave them a car to drive across the border, whose mother had a nervous breakdown. Conspiracies of parish priests to keep children of unwed mothers hidden as a child of the grandparents. They are still victims of the society. They don't have to come to terms with it, but to say what happened. We need to enable those people to have a voice if they want it. Those stories are as important as the stories of violent conflict.
- Complexity model of society is much more suitable than a hierarchy – that we are somehow connected in all kinds of complex ways.
- You are evaluating at the interpersonal level but it is not separate from all the other levels – there is a complex webs of networks and that needs to be recognised by the evaluation.
- The language we use in setting up the evaluation may not do justice to what the project is doing – 'the evaluation of storytelling as a peace-building mechanism' – the dominance of the building metaphor grates at me – it misses what the essence of the work is. It is poetry not praxis, it is humble, not building blocks – are you a builder or a gardener. Language is very important.
- Peace-building and cultivating depends on the context – certain programmes might flourish better. Some things have a logic too – it takes care to get a garden right – there is a structure to cultivating as well.
- In addition to the impacts of storytelling, there is also the level of place, the specificity of place. Respect for everybody including all beings – which includes animals too – is a bigger level than the wider societal impact. A house burning

- down is not just losing a house. Because of the importance of place, you don't do storytelling in a hotel. In a fire, you lose the smells, place of where you grew up, the warmth of your family home.
- 'Soul impacts' sounds better to me than intrapersonal impacts of storytelling. In the WHO there is a statement of health and wellbeing – part of it being able to make sense of the world when you are faced with change. Storytelling is about making sense of your story and enabling others to understand where you are. That is part of the therapy for me. It is also that making sense of. The children in the garden make sense through creativity – either creating new stories, myths and legends and through art.
- Gandhi talked about inner peace – the peace within is needed to have peace on the outside.
- If you say that intrapersonal is at the core of the process, you need to find a way to evaluate that even though it is psychology speak.
- Something is in the time element too – they had 9 months to work with the children – what difference would that make to people here? They have much more time than we have. People who go through a longer process can give a much deeper evaluation interview than someone who did one evening. They are able to say much more about what it did for them. The relationships are more honest in that longer period. The mechanisms of those conversations can be more active and real. It gives them the support they need to keep it going. They have time to process, to come back with questions.



Group 3

- Art can hold paradox in a way that other vehicles can't.
- One of the only indicators you can isolate when evaluating art is how relevant the piece of art is to the community. But, even this is complicated...
- One can also look at numbers of interested people, also the diversity among these numbers, and the type of responses you inspire in these people. The problem is that not everybody is vocal. They are sometimes not able to articulate things so soon, and they may then process differently.

- Another area to look at is the impact of doing the art. This also must be looked at as part of the evaluation.
- Declan McGonagle, a University of Ulster based artist, speaks about these processes being both about the process and the quality of the finished piece of art.
- As Paul understood it, there was an evaluation of fear, and a form of colonialism. The dominant discourse in Western Culture seems to be science. The popular didactic, however facile, is the didactic between science and religion (into which art, mystery, the 'magic' factor could also fit). Have we been caught in this false dichotomy when it comes to the evaluation of our work?
- Some wisdom from the art world that may be helpful within the context of storytelling evaluation.
- A major strategy for arts-run organisation is residences. People can retreat and lose the noise of their mind to develop some of their art.
- Do we need to change the word 'evaluator'?
- Would the idea of 'harvest' be a good way to think of this?
- If we use the word 'cultivator' for peace, rather than peace-building, we move from an engineering metaphor to a gardening metaphor which looks for conditions, treads carefully and looks for growth that happens and whose growth can't be purely claimed as the cultivator's achievement. It understands ecosystem and doesn't do foreign cross-pollination etc.
- Evaluators themselves can be very helpful in educating the funders. One needs to have the body of knowledge there to enhance this. Researchers who can write and publish this, are also involved, building to the body of knowledge from which people draw their policies, methodologies and wisdom.
- Are people afraid of storytelling because it opens up emotion? Art comes into this also.
- What's the difference between story-generation and storytelling?
 - One is biographical and one is descriptive.
 - Poesis is about being present to the creativity.
 - Rather than it being about telling your story, it's about a connection with the creative force that is about linked with something bigger than your story – rather, the connection of something core to the person.
 - How can we allow people to be present to the telling of the story each time they tell the story that is a continual, spontaneous presence to the essence of creativity.
 - When someone is traumatized, the idea of being present to the creative in their story, is a threat, because they may need to keep telling the same story for a long time.
 - Have we been involved with story-creating for the future?

Group 4

- My reaction is: is the Garden a situation where evaluation is irrelevant? Donors were giving money, Paul was happy to continue, and didn't feel strongly about the need for an evaluation. A conventional evaluation was largely irrelevant.
- What is the purpose of the evaluation? Is it to communicate with the donor, or with the practitioner?
- A theatrical play is an end in itself. How do you evaluate it? It's a contradiction in terms
- We need a modularisation/pluralisation of evaluation, since storytelling is different in form and content;
- Paul's talk showed that it was about relationship building; would children in the NI context, be able to exert that kind of power? One impact was that the children were no longer willing to be subject to the scripts of others; what they were bringing back to their communities was challenging them.
- A good study could be warranted. What is happening with these kids over a prolonged period of time?
- We've almost boxed evaluation; there is a much broader understanding of it out there; what are we comfortable with? Here's a model of practice, reflective practice.
- We used the storytelling method to conduct an evaluation. We consciously did it to evaluate our project; could we use the methodology of storytelling to tell the story of storytelling.
- One way of looking at evaluation is to put a VALUE on things; find out what is of value.
- How do we let our work speak for itself? We could ask a participant to present an evaluation of our programme.
- Is it exciting for funders to hear the stories and what is happening with the money? As far as the European Commission is concerned they want to hear the stories, they would be much happier.
- Is there a forum to present that? There is the monitoring forum; and the monitoring and evaluation committee
- Is that something that, as projects, we should be taking the lead? Do we need to bring the evaluators into the space?
- Evaluation should be completely embedded in your programme from start to finish.
- We need a communication strategy, packaging up what's being learned and communicating to people around you
- One issue for us is in terms of money: relationship building is not always possible in short cooperation time spans between evaluator and programme; when we were putting together our budget, evaluation is important but it is equal to a salary in monetary terms. There are limitations.

- There is a sense of confusion about what storytelling is all about. Programmes are happening spontaneously, then they're repackaging this for Peace programmes. If we have to think about evaluating then this it's not the same. The funders want to support it, but they're trapped into the game of writing the report.
- There is a conspiracy of lying between funders and funded; it's not malicious, funders want to fund things.
- What is the funders vision of 'when the peace is built'? There is that pressure to fit things into a format
- I could give many examples of how individual instances have shown a positive impact, but I have no idea if that is contributing to peace
- Exactly: does your programme contribute to peace? If you say it is, then the funder has a legitimate query about whether it does.
- Whatever your methodology it has to be connected with what you're trying to achieve; sometimes you can't be sure what that achievement is.
- Spontaneity, beauty and creativity – the idea that things organically move and change and flow. There is an inherent tension: you want to be able to go with the inevitable/mysterious, but it is the antithesis of going in the direction of structured programming; there needs to be room for that. Look at Lederach's Imaginative Approach to Peace-building.
- We need to match the evaluative framework to the project. A standard approach is not viable. There needs to be a combination of approaches; be creative as possible, individual evaluation, group evaluation and we need written evaluation as well.
- Peer review processes are useful. A surgery might be useful: we could review ideas. If you've got a short list of people, bring them into the surgery. Include the funders, get them inside too so that they can be a part of early design.
- We need a candidate organisation; independent specialists, maybe get people to talk individually; some kind of process to react to the presentation, feedback. It is important that the client doesn't feel they need to commit, that would make it forced.
- There might be issues of disengagement, the facilitator needs to draw people in, one to one isn't going to work.
- It could be about working through the case studies with methodologies.
- The client may be clear on what they are going to do; other times they're not – the facilitator who can draw out/provoke discussion and issues.
- The surgery might be at different stages, offering consultation at different stages and points in time
- It could start with a 'Core week': an introduction to a range of methods, work through case studies to elucidate principles and approaches
- One of the real problems with the evaluation stuff there is a lack of interest in it; if you did it you would have to sell it.

Appendix 2: How Does Storytelling Work in Violently Divided Societies?

Questioning the Link between Storytelling and Peace-building

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By way of explanation: This paper is intended to stimulate and focus critical thinking about the connections (if any) between storytelling and constructive social change in violently divided societies. For their contributions to sharpening my blunt ideas, I would like to thank Paddy Logue of the Irish Peace Centres, Paul Hogan of the Butterfly Peace Garden in Sri Lanka, and Kate Murphy, a storyteller from Portrush. I welcome comments, critique, and contributions to the ideas presented herein, as the first step towards the development of an initiative to systematically examine and assess storytelling projects in Northern Ireland and internationally.

‘I wish I could tell the difference between a story and a memory.’ This line was spoken by a tortured young man on the stage of a production by an organization called ‘Theatre of Witness’, a self-labelled ‘creative peace initiative.’ The production is one of many projects, in Northern Ireland and internationally, premised on the unquestioned belief that the telling of stories catalyzes some kind of therapeutic process within and between individuals, and most problematically between violently divided communities. Some go so far as to link storytelling to “peace-building” -- in the broad sense of re- weaving the shredded fabric of societies following protracted, typically militarized, violence. Paradoxically, the fact that ‘peace monies’ are more readily available than ‘arts monies’ may subsidize a situation where it is less, not more, likely that the links (if any) between story (in what ever form) and peace (whatever that means) will remain assumed and asserted, rather than systematically examined.

Despite the resources poured into storytelling projects in Northern Ireland, our level of knowledge and sophistication about their social impacts are on par with medieval remedies for gout and plague.

As the statement from the Theatre of Witness production suggests, there is a danger that our collective memory of the Troubles may become a prisoner to the stories played endlessly in a loop cycle. We all know the aphorism, ‘those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it’ (Geo. Santayana). But here in Northern Ireland (especially around marching season), we know only too well that

those who repeat their history are bound to remember it. In this particular context, the challenge then may be to 'break' stories, not to cast them in cement.

To understand, or to begin examining the impacts of, story telling in violently divided societies, we need first to consider what academics call (unnecessarily obtusely) 'theories of change.' That is, how do we think story telling works in terms of affecting constructive socio-political change? The first thing we should note is the possibility that storytelling may have negative, as well as positive, impacts. Thus, a 'failed' storytelling project may be much more than an initiative with no demonstrable impact; it could have negative impacts, for example, by further dividing communities, by reinforcing stereotypes, by increasing distrust and misconceptions, and so on. The second point, is that the implicit or explicit connections between storytelling and peace-building are all asserted. There is no systematic examination of how they may, or may not, be connected. When we do survey relevant discussions, we can begin to discern a number of models. The list below is not exhaustive; it is intended to be an invitation in an on-going, analytical, conversation.

Storytelling as witness: The problem with the idea of 'witnessing' is that it is primarily a passive, sometimes voyeuristic, activity. That is, there may be a passivity to storytelling-as-witnessing in the sense (as with the Theatre of Witness) there is a disconnection between micro-level experience and the macro level causes. More importantly, there is a disconnection between new awareness or understanding on the one hand, and ameliorative or transformative action on the other. We may left moved, shaken, or disturbed, but remain unequipped to act. In some cases, the motivation to act may be less than before the story, if hopelessness mixes with helplessness.

Storytelling as social mobilization: In the dirty wars of Argentina and the Southern Cone, the use of terror by state and non-state actors served to silence and control civilian populations throughout the 1970s and 80s. Initially, dissent was not expressed because of the fear of retribution. However, gradually, as a culture of fear took root, the lack of dissent was less a matter of self-preservation and the protection of one's family and friends, than a form of collective blindness and incapacitation. The stories of violence stopped being told. In this setting (no less than in the early days of first wave feminism), the recommencement of the telling of individual stories served to break down the isolation and anomy which is the very objective of dirty wars (or patriarchy). In such contexts, storytelling may serve to mobilize a sense of community within individuals by illustrating that the abuses and injustices were not random or individualized, but systemic and structural. Here, storytelling and mobilization may be linked, though it is important to note (1) that story telling went hand-in-hand with the development of the networks and mechanism of ameliorative action; and (2) the mobilizational efficacy of storytelling may vary over time. In other words, the role and

impact of storytelling may change according to the conflict phase within which it is employed, or according to different types of conflicts, or according to different kinds of subcultures (oral traditions, literate/ nonliterate cultures, incarcerated populations; children vs adults; men vs woman, and so on)

Storytelling as catharsis: ‘Catharsis’ is defined as (1) “the purging of the emotions or relieving of emotional tensions”; (2) “psychotherapy that encourages or permits the discharge of pent-up, socially unacceptable affects”; and (3) “discharge of pent-up emotions so as to result in the alleviation of symptoms or the permanent relief of the condition.” The central question here is whether catharsis for oneself is catharsis for another. When does the picking of the scabs of injustice or degradation initiate social-psychological scar formation? And when does it inflict new wounds in the teller or the listener, particularly in volatile and uncertain ‘post’-conflict settings?

Storytelling as empowerment: The idea that storytelling can be empowering is premised on the belief that the very act of storytelling contains the capacity to open the narrator or listener to the possibilities of change – change of ideas, understandings, actions. By repositioning oneself in ‘the’ story, it becomes possible to change from being a victim to being a survivor to being a champion. Most importantly, the teller/ listener may come to see themselves as authors of their own stories capable of writing conclusions that are more than the tragic, ‘inescapable’, cycle of victimhood and violence. There may be something in storytelling about becoming able to ‘write one’s own story’ for oneself, rather than only ever being someone else’s character in someone else’s story; as in: my story does not stop with the Omagh bombing, it starts there.

Storytelling as reclamation of the narrative/ as ‘correction’ of historical record/ as ‘truth telling: In this sense, storytelling challenges understandings about ‘whose story counts’ within a society. A proliferation of stories initiates a collective questioning and destabilization of the ‘taken-for-granted’, unquestioned/ unquestionable, meta-narrative of a group, people, or nation. Thus, for example, we see a re-writing of history to include the voices, experiences and contributions of women, indigenous peoples, the oppressed, the vanquished, the dispossessed. On an official level, this was the basis for both the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, as well as the Commission for Historical Clarification in Guatemala. The question of the effectiveness of these commissions is still contested – in particular, the connection between truth (whatever this means) and reconciliation (whatever this means).

Storytelling as duelling narratives: Related to the above model of storytelling is the danger that storytelling becomes a competition between versions of events; with the attendant danger that one hegemonic narrative simply replaces another. The question of the legitimacy and authenticity of a story may be subordinated by the

political interests being promoted by one group over another. The long shadow of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry falls heavily across this paragraph. This is less a matter of letting 'a thousand flowers bloom', than standing at the confluence of twenty marching bands.

Storytelling as fly trap: As noted above, this view of storytelling sees story tellers and listeners getting 'stuck in a loop'. Like an Escher etching illustrating the endless climbing of endless stairs, the story teller tells and retells and retells the same story. Far from being cathartic, the story sticks to us, as we stick to the story. As Anaïs Nin observed, we come to 'see the world not as it is, but as we are.' In this loop, the story teller, and the listener sees what s/he/ they expect to see, thereby blinding them to different possible understandings and futures. The danger here, is that by one-dimensionalizing issues and events, the scope for ameliorative action is disappeared (sic).

Storytelling as therapy or healing: The idea that the telling of one's story is somehow inherently therapeutic or healing is much asserted, and minimally examined. The concept of 'healing' is particularly problematic when applied to a post-conflict (in- conflict) violent setting, whether at the individual or collective level because of its deep Western biomedical roots, and the mechanistic, engineering, logic this entails. What 'healing' might actually mean in these settings is not at all clear – particularly in non- Western cultures, or in contexts where violence (militarized and non-militarized) is an everyday fact of life that constitutes the central referent for self-identification. In some cultures, a process of reintegration after horrendous violence is based not on storytelling, but on rituals from either traditional belief systems or from more contemporary sources. From a peace-building perspective more work needs to be done on teasing out the links (if any) between storytelling and positive psychic changes within an individual and positive changes at a societal level.

Storytelling as peace-building: The examination of the possible connections between storytelling and peace-building is complicated by the fact that the meaning of "peace- building" is not clear – and is, indeed, stretched to suit the institutional interests of whoever is using it depending on their original mandate and organizational interests, and (not to put too fine a point on it) the parameters established by the funding agency from whom funding is being sought. Nonetheless, given the resources channelled into activities asserting the peace impacts of between storytelling, there is a conspicuous need to systematically evaluate the modalities and impacts into story-telling-as-peace- building projects.

I invite you to put pen to paper/ finger tips to key board to add your views and experiences to this discussion.



Appendix 3: Workshop Programme

Wednesday, 22nd September 2010

- 2.15pm **Welcome**
Paddy Logue, Irish Peace Centres
- 2.20pm **SEUPB - Evaluating the PEACE III Experience**
Shaun Henry, Special European Union Programmes Body
- 2.35pm **Introduction to the Workshop**
Dr. Kenneth Bush, INCORE
- 2.45pm **Case Study 1: The Interpersonal Level**
Judith Thompson Ph.D, Research Associate, Karuna Center for Peace-building outlines her experiences of developing community social healing programmes.
- 3.00pm **Evaluative Interview**
Dr. Katy Radford from Queen's University Belfast questions Judith on measuring success.
- 3.30pm **Group Discussions**
Group discussions will focus on evaluating the interpersonal impacts of storytelling.
- 5.30pm **Plenary**
An opportunity for groups to put their questions / theories to the speakers.

Thursday, 23rd September 2010

9.45am **Case Study 2: The Inter-Group Level**

Wilhelm Verwoerd from the Irish Peace Centres outlines his experience of the use of storytelling in the South African and Northern Irish contexts.

10.00am **Evaluative Interview**

Dr. Rick Davis, originator of the Most Significant Change Methodology, engages with Wilhelm to tease out the modalities and impacts of the storytelling initiatives he has been involved with.

10.30am **Group Discussions**

Group Discussions will focus on evaluating the inter-group impacts of storytelling.

12.30pm **Plenary**

An opportunity for groups to put their questions / theories to the speakers.

2.15pm **Case Study 3: The Societal Level**

Paul Hogan of the Butterfly Peace Garden recounts his experiences of working with war affected children and adults in Sri Lanka.

2.30pm **Evaluative Interview**

Claudia Fontes, artist and evaluator, explores with Paul the challenges of discerning the impacts of the Butterfly Peace Garden.

3.00pm **Group Discussions**

Group discussions will focus on evaluating the societal impacts of storytelling.

5.00pm **Plenary**

An opportunity for groups to put their questions / theories to the speakers.

Friday 24th September 2010

9.45am **Welcome Back**

10.00am **Capturing the Learning**

Drafting a framework for the future evaluation of storytelling, led by Dr. Kenneth Bush.

11.15am **Reflections from the Panel**

Our international speakers join a panel for a question and answer session.

12.15pm **Next Steps**

Paddy Logue, Irish Peace Centres

Appendix 4: Speaker Biographies



Paddy Logue

Research Coordinator, Experiential Learning, Irish Peace Centres.

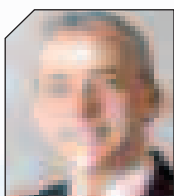
Prior to joining Irish Peace Centres in 2008, Paddy was Programme Manager in the Irish Government's Combat Poverty Agency with responsibility for the implementation and delivery of Measures under the EU PEACE I and II and the EU INTERREG IIIA and IVA programmes. In the seventies he worked in community development in Leeds, Liverpool and London. From 1978 to 1996, he managed a community centre in the Bogside area of Derry where he was an advocate for human rights and active in campaigns against poverty and low pay. His publications include: THEM & US, Columba Press, Dublin, 1994; THE BORDER, Oak Tree Press, Dublin, 1999; BEING IRISH, Oak Tree Press, Dublin, 2000; BEING SCOTTISH, Edinburgh University Press, 2002 (with Prof. T Devine).



Professor Kenneth Bush

Research Coordinator, INCORE

Kenneth Bush is the Research Coordinator at INCORE. He received his Ph.D. in International Relations and Comparative Politics from Cornell University. Prior to joining INCORE, Dr. Bush held teaching positions at various universities and was the founding professor of the Conflict Studies Program at St. Paul University, Ottawa, Canada. He has worked with a broad spectrum of development and humanitarian organisations across the world including the role as special advisor on Humanitarian Issues to the Canadian Government when it served on the UN Security Council (1998-2000). He has had his work published on a wide range of issues including peace building, evaluation, identity-based conflict, and bad governance.



Shaun Henry

Director, Managing Authority, SEUPB

Shaun has been working with the SEUPB since 2002. During the programme period 2000-2006 he was the Director of the Peace and Reconciliation Programme (PEACE II) and the INTERREG IIIA Programme. Shaun was seconded to the Ministry for Regional Development in Romania for the period 2007-2009 to advise on the implementation of EU structural funds. Following his return to Belfast in 2009, Shaun was appointed as the Director of the Managing Authority for the PEACE III and INTERREG IVA Programmes. Prior to joining SEUPB, Shaun worked in the Rural Development Council. Shaun also spent two years with Ireland Aid under the Department of Foreign Affairs Ireland and five years with Concern Worldwide.



Judith Thompson Ph.D

Research Associate, Karuna Center for Peace-building

Judith Thompson, Ph.D. has a background in dialogue, reconciliation, community organising, psychosocial healing, peace education, and leadership development. For over a decade she directed the award-winning international organisation, Children of War, Inc., which engaged teenagers from 22 war zones in peer empowerment processes to heal trauma and organise for social transformation. Judith has helped to launch numerous other organisations including Global YouthConnect, Cambodian Living Arts, The Rwandan Youth Healing Center, The World Council of Elders and Earth Circles, Inc. From 1999-2005, she co-directed with James O'Dea the Frontiers of Social Healing dialogue series funded by the Fetzer Institute, which served as a theory building learning community for scholarpractitioners worldwide engaged in reconciliation and dialogue. She has facilitated dialogue in post-conflict settings, most recently between Israeli and Palestinian mental health workers around the process of acknowledgment.



Dr. Richard (Rick) Davies

Independent Monitoring and Evaluation Consultant

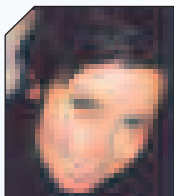
Richard Davies is an Independent Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Consultant with over 20 years' experience in the field. Richard's areas of expertise encompass management of evaluations, design of M&E strategies and frameworks, M&E capacity building and methodology development. He has worked on a range of monitoring and evaluation projects throughout the world including in Indonesia, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Somalia, India, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Uganda and the Caribbean. In 1997 he founded Monitoring and Evaluation NEWS, at www.mande.co.uk; a site he continues to manage and edit. The website offers a news service focusing on developments in monitoring and evaluation methods for development aid programmes with relevance to both countries receiving international aid and those providing it.



Paul Hogan

Associate Director, Butterfly Peace Garden

Paul Hogan is an artist from Canada who plays with image, story and theatre in collaboration with people from communities devastated by war, natural disaster, poverty and social dislocation. His work began as a street artist and performer in Toronto in the early 70s. In 1983 he co-founded the Spiral Garden at Toronto's Hugh Macmillan Medical Centre for physically challenged children. In 1994, working with the Centre for International Health at McMaster University in Hamilton Ontario and local partners in Sri Lanka, he acted as a creative advisor in developing the Butterfly Peace Garden in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka, which subsequently became the model for three other gardens in Sri Lanka as well as the Mango Tree Garden at Sweet Mango Pagoda in Sre Knong Village in Cambodia. Paul now lives in Thailand where he has written "Telling Eastern Tales", a collection of stories based on the lives of children he met over the last 14 years at the Butterfly Peace Garden.



Claudia Fontes

A visual artist based in Brighton, UK

Claudia believes in the power of art for bringing people together, and for the past 10 years, she has been involved, both as a practitioner and as a consultant, in researching artists' self-organisations and relational aesthetics. This interest has led her to explore how to evaluate the intangible impact of artistic activity on society, an area of evaluation which is usually dismissed. Together with Ricardo Wilson-Grau, she evaluated the HIVOS Arts and Culture programme in Central America in 2006-2007, based on the Outcome Mapping methodology. In 2009-2010, she conducted a developmental evaluation of the International Culture Programme of DOEN's Foundation using the Most Significant Change technique, a monitoring and evaluation tool based on storytelling, developed by Rick Davies and Jess Dart. She has also explored, through her artistic practice, the use of storytelling in collective processes for the reconstruction of memory, namely in the Reconstruction of the Portrait of Pablo Miguez, a public artwork located on the waters of the Rio de la Plata and part of the Memorial Site in homage to the Victims of State Terrorism in Argentina, her homeland.



Wilhelm Verwoerd

*'Sustaining Positive Relationships' Co-ordinator,
Irish Peace Centres*

Wilhelm was born in South Africa and since 2002 has been working as a Programme Co-ordinator of the Survivors and Former Combatants Programme at the Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation in Ireland. Before moving to Ireland he was a lecturer in the Department of Philosophy, University of Stellenbosch (1990-2001) and was a researcher within the Cape Town office of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996-1998). He has worked extensively with ex-combatants and survivors from all sides of the conflict in and about Northern Ireland, with the development of the Sustainable Peace Network being the main focus of his work since 2004. Since June 2008 this work has been continued with his appointment as a Co-ordinator within the Irish Peace Centres Consortium. He is the author of *My Winds of Change* published by Ravan Press and co-edited with Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Looking Back, Reaching Forward: Reflections on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission* published by Juta Publishing Co./ London: Zed Books. In 2008 his PhD, *Equity, Mercy, Forgiveness: Interpreting Amnesty within the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, was published by Peeters, Leuven.

Katy Radford

Research Fellow, School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work, Queen's University Belfast.

Appendix 5: Storytelling & Peace-Building References and Resources

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- Seeds of Hope: An Exploration by the 'Seeds of Hope' ex-prisoners Think
Tank (March 2000, Pamphlet No. 27)
[http://www.cain.ulster.ac.uk/islandpublications/hall00- ip27.pdf](http://www.cain.ulster.ac.uk/islandpublications/hall00-ip27.pdf)
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